IQBAL AND QURANIC WISDOM

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INTRODUCTION

The present anthology of Essays and Addresses of Professor Muhammad Munawwar Mirza offers to a serious student of life and work of Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal a highly scholarly and intellectually stimulating presentation of his dieas, intuitions and insights and should be regarded as a welcome addition to that ever-increasing, if not prodigious, outpouring of the literature of criticism of his poetical genius and philosophical profundity. There are many serious-minded scholars who have seen in the ideas of Iqbal a sort of living force which is perennially at work in shaping the life and destiny of the people of Pakistan in particular and of the rest of the Muslim world in general. And of course Munawwar is the most perceptive of them all!

Dr. Iqbal is undoubtedly a renowned poet-philosopher of Islam and many have found in his writings a never-failing source of inspiration, delight and aesthetic wonder. He has made a signal contribution to our understanding of the Holy Writ of Islam and offered his own evaluation of the remarkable example which the life of the Prophet of Islam has presented to the world at large and the high water-mark of excellence it provides of how best our earthly life can be lived, here below.

Prof. Munawwar, during the course of the last thirty years or so, has identified himself in his capacity as a scholar of repute, as a devoted disciple and an ardent admirer of Iqbal. His essays and addresses are designed to give us a deep insight into the many-splendoured personality of his Master. The light his writings have shed on Iqbal have won for him a great deal of affectionate attention from scholars and applause from the people of Pakistan. It could aptly be said that what Plato was to Socrates Munawwar is to Iqbal—except perhaps the obvious rider that must qualify that relation ship, namely, the both Dr. Iqbal and Professor Munawwar derive their primary inspiration from the Holy Qur'an. This cannot be said about the relationship between Socrates and Plato; indeed, Plato is Socrates writ-large and a sort of a lengthening shadow of the image which is cast by his master on the landscape of the History of Philosophical Ideas of ancient Greece.

Scholars who are not familiar with the range and magnificence of the Quranic wisdom may find it difficult to understand the full significance of the assertion that the Qur'an constitutes the Last Court of Appeal for any significant Muslim thinker for determining the validity of his own

philosophical position as even the cognitive assertions involved in the dis covery of the significance of the life itself and the problems with which it is confronted on earth. Not a facet or aspect of life but has been dealt with by the Qur'an in an original and striking manner and the vision of things as they are, has been presented to the believers with such a stark simplicity that no sophisticated analysis is needed in comprehending it. The essence, if not the quintessence, of the message of Islam to mankind is to treat this life as a seedplot of the Hereafter. It is the perception of this truth that provides the background for understanding the earthly role of man, of knowing what are man's legal duties, his desirable acts and impermissible omissions that he is to countenance here below.

The reader of the present anthology will be impressed by the numerous variations on the themes that Professor Munawwar deals with to be able to give his analysis of how Iqbal views them. The reader will be equally struck by his urbanity, becoming humility as also by the critical spirit with which he evaluates Iqbal's own position in relation to those themes. I have no doubt, the reader would be deeply impressed by the vast storehouse of wisdom which is treasured and embalmed in the present anthology and, what is more, he would find that several new points of view begin to disclose themselves to understand Iqbalian thought—for him to pursue, of course consistently with his own aesthetic sensibility and ideational response that he is wont to make to his poetico-philosophic creations. Subjects such as *Harmony in Iqbal's Thought, Iqbal's Idea of Faqr, Iqbal's Concept of History, his thoughts concerning Life After Death as even Taqdir,* i.e. predestination, etc., are undoubtedly challenging topics, but in the way they are presented by Prof. Munawwar there is a great deal which is so strikingly original and impressive about the presentation of these topics that I have no doubt his way of thinging would provide stimulus to the creative impulse of his readers.

The course of human history has been to a considerable extent influenced by poets and in some sense they are the lawgivers of history. There is a *hadith* of the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) to the effect that secret treasures that are to be found in the earth and heaven can be unlocked only by the tongues of the poets—which are therefore to be compared to the keys with which to unlock the mysteries of life and death.

Undoubtedly, Iqbal is one of the outstanding poets of our time and a star of first magnitude in the philosophic firmament—he is the seeing eye, a feeling heart.

He sheds a new light of the twentieth-century thought on the Holy Writ of Islam and significance of the historical role of its Prophet. There

have been other "philosopher-poets" or poetical philosophers—I do not know which is the correct expression—who too have corresponded to the type that Iqbal illustrates in the way he sings his songs and in the way he thinks his thoughts. The greatest amongst them from my point of view is of course the famous German poet, Goethe by name. One can also refer to George Santayana, Lucretius, Milton, as even Blake and Dante—to name just a few. Jalaluddin Rumi, the author of immortal *Mathnavi* written in Persian, could be regarded as the prince amongst poet-philosophers of Human History. It is difficult for critical scholarship to comprehend precisely the nature of the aesthetic consciousness of poets who somehow manage philosophically to deal with great ideas by some kind of uncanny genius with which they are endowed. In the case of Iqbal, I am pretty certain, that he is basically what, for want of better expression, could be called *poet of the idea.* By that I mean that the subject matter of his aesthetic perception and expression is the abstract idea itself. It is difficult to put him in the category of conventional poets, that is to say, of poets who talk of the concrete things or situations in life—like the dawn, the sunset, the procession of seasons, the stars that shine like diamonds in the sky or poets who sing about human situations that illustrate love, pain, suffering, joy or wonder. Poetry, in its conventional sense, is designed to give us a peep into the *sensible side of life* in order to highlight some intangible, enduring or universal aspect of an object that has aesthetically moved the poet. Iqbal does not deal with the concrete and tangible objectives; instead he has a rare gift of falling in *love* with a great idea and, having fallen in love with it, he recreates it in terms of his aesthetic conciousness and then proceeds to present it in a memorable form of expression for the consideration of his readers. With him poetry is primarily an expression of philosophical view that somehow stimulates his thinking. He is, by and large, influenced by his view of the ultimate metaphysical question of life and, in particular, he is preoccupied with the destiny of man and his redemption through struggle and action. He is very much concerned to point out how man could realize his real self. He is struck by the changing appearances of things but, all the same, it seems he is more concerned with the changeless reflecting itself in these changes. Conversely, he sees the permanent element which lies at the back of the changing concourse of things and understands directly how it expresses itself in the numerous changing forms in which it incarnates itself from moment to moment. His philosophy reminds one of the philosophy of Heraclitus who thought that *change is the stuff out of which life is made.* But, on the other hand, Iqbal is also the protagonist of a diametrically opposed philosopher of Change, namely, Parmenides, who, as is well known, subscribed relentlessly to the Reality of permanent Being and disregarded completely what to him was "the illusory character of all the changes". Plato tried to secure confluence between permanence and change, between being and becoming, but the premisses on the basis of which his argument is based are dialectical

in substance and, in my opinion, they are incapable of being comprehended purely in philosophic terms. Plato is, at heart, a poet *par excellence*—although as a philosopher he denigrated the image of poetry and assigned a lower value to all Art—being a copy of copy; according to him it was *thrice* moved from Reality. I have no doubt Plato had direct access to the world of the spirit and that he had seen for himself the archetypal ideas about which he writes so eloquently and movingly. He, on that account, treats the phenomenological world as though it were no more than a pale reflection of all those ideas that somehow grant to or confer upon the objects of the world of space and time whatever grace, beauty, and truth they have. In man's moral consciousness he saw the incarnation of the highest idea, the idea of goodness. As is well known, he treated the idea of goodness as constituting the apex of the pyramid of the hierarchy of the ideas which for him alone are real.

It may be difficult to visualise how poet-philosophers are struck by great ideas and how they respond to them aesthetically and then recreate them poetically. To a thinker of the eminence of William James it appears that all great ideas are the offsprings of mystical consciousness; they are, for him, living realities for those who get occasionally involved with them and proceed to present them in the form of verse. He appears to think "that our normal waking consciousness, rational consciousness as we call it, is but *(one special type of consciousness)* whilst all about it, parted from it by the flimsiest of screens, there lie potential forms of consciousness entirely different. We may go through life without suspecting their existence; but apply the requisite stimulus, and at a touch they are, in all their completeness, definite types of mentality which probably somewhere have their field of application and adaptation. No account of the universe in its totality can be final which leaves these other forms of consciousness quite disregarded. How to regard them is the quection—for they are so discontinuous with ordinary consciousness! Yet they may determine attitudes though they cannot furnish formulas, and open a region though they fail to give a map. At any rate, they forbid a premature closing of our accounts with Reality. Looking back on my own experience, they all converge towards a kind of insight to which I cannot help ascribing some metaphysical significance. The keynote of it is invariably a reconciliation. It is as if the opposites of the world, whose contradictoriness and conflict make all our difficulties and troubles, were melted into unity. Not only do they, as contrasted species, belong to one and the same genus, but one of the species, the nobler and better one, is itself the genus, and so soaks up and absorbs its opposite into itself. This is a dark saying, I know, when thus expressed in terms of common logic, but I cannot wholly escape from its authority. I feel as if it must mean something, something like what the Hegelian philosophy means, if one could only lay hold of it more clearly

Those who have ears to hear, let them hear, to me the living sense of its reality only comes in the artificial mystic state of mind."[1]

Iqbal, viewed in the perspective outlined above, falls somewhat in a category by himself: he is anchored in the Quranic tradition and is of course so much in devotion absorbed in the personality of the Prophet of Islam that almost everything he has written can be referred to the stimulus that has come to him from these twin spiritual resources. Not only that, but there is a centuries old tradition that has grown as a result of the impact which the Holy Writ of Islam and the utterances of its Prophet (peace be upon him) have made upon numerous Muslim thinkers, sages, saints, philosophers, and mystics. And for a student of Islam such as Iqbal, this tradition appears to be such an autonomous and creative force that, by itself, it is capable of imparting to him a liberating vital impulse, thereby enabling him to move on to a higher level of creative expression of the revealèd truth.

There are references in the writings of Iqbal which tend to show that he was not attracted by the muse of poetry as such and it is interesting to note, comparatively speaking, that he was so much impressed by the practical aspect of Western life that he once seriously thought of giving up the writing of poetry and indeed he said: "The nations that are doing something great do not relish poetry." In his prologue to his famous poem Asrar-i-*Khudi,* he says: *"Shairi zin mathnavi maqsud neest."* (Poetising is not the aim of this *mathnavi).* To the same effect are the remarks by his spiritual mentor and guide, i.e. Jalaluddin Rumi who too did not cherish the idea of expressing himself in poetry but somehow he felt that the people around him liked poetical expression so much that just for pleasing them he expressed himself in that medium without being inwardly drawn to it.[2]

It is true that poetical medium has one advantage which cannot be lost sight of. It imparts to whatever the poet says the quality of memorableness. It is easy to remember what is said in a verse because of the rhythmic and rhyming arrangements which provide the setting in which words and phrases find their fulcrum.

It is considerations such as these which incline me to think that Iqbal is basically a philosopher of the idealogy of Islam in that he attempts to present the outstanding tenets of Islam in a philosophic form. He expresses himself in *the vernacular* of the age to which he belongs to enable his listeners to be able to follow meaningfully the argument in defence of the supreme doctrine of Islam. The State of Pakistan is the politico-juridical organ of a Nation that has called itself Islamic Republic and is professedly

committed to advancing the ideology of Islam. It wants to make the life of the Prophet (peace be upon him) as a model of human excellence for its citizens to emulate and the laws promulgated by God, the Diving Legislator, as norms by which private and public conduct could be regulated and judged. It can thus have no better teacher to listen to than Iqbal if only because he, in the language of our time and in the context of historical developments that characterise the age he lived in, has articulated the ideas characteristics of the religion of Islam far more powerfully than any other Muslim philosopher that I know of.

The present anthology expounds some of the outstanding ideas of Iqbal and may be treated as a long footnote to his general philosophic teaching concerning the truth of man's being, his capacity for growth in spirit, as also the nature of the world in which his lot is cast–to say nothing of the Devotion with which he sings the hymn of praise about the Supreme Power and Presence that presides over the destiny of universe wherein man has been raised as *Khalifatul Ard*

I would like to end this short introduction to Professor Munawwar's Great Book by reproducing the following six quotations from the writings of Iqbal which present what I consider a sort of warning as well as hope:

(1) "Man of the West! the country of God is not a shop;
What thou takest to be real is a counterfeit coin;
Thy civilisation will bring about thy death,
As the nest that is built on a delicate branch cannot last long."

(2) "That on the western horizon is no dawn, it's a stream of flood, a stream of blood,
Today and yesterday are now pale legend, await tomorrow's soon-pouring flood."

(3) "Only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language. So long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism, and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour, and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise

(4) "The final goal of evolution comes to sight, not as a pre-established harmony, but as the eventual consummation of a perfect

commonwealth, wherein all co-operate and none conflict wherein the many can become one, one realm of ends."

(5) "The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of latent power the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the plebeian material Islam has formed men of the noblest type of Life and Power."

(6) "Remember that Islam was born in the braod day light of history. The democratic Prophet lived and worked among intelligent men, who have transmitted to posterity every word that dropped from his sacred lips. There is absolutely nothing exoteric in his teachings. Every word of the Qur'an is brimful of light and joy of existence. Far from justifying any gloomy mysticism, it is an open assault on those religious teachings which have for centuries mystified mankind. Accept, then, the reality of the world cheerfully and grapple with it for the glorification of God and His Prophet."

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30 October 1981

1. William James, Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 379.

2. See Rumi's Fih Ma Fih. Translated by A. J. Arberry : Discourses of Rumi.

PREFACE

Allama Muhammad Iqbal as a poet-philosopher of Islam makes philosophy sing in his verses the message of love, hope and dignity of man. For him, as for almost all great thinkers of the world, the self of man has been a big and intriguing problem. Chapters that follow deal basically with the same problem: Can a self actualize, i.e. can a homo sapiens become really a human being? The main source of inspiration for Allama Muhammad Iqbal is the Holy Qur'an and the Sirah of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). He believes in the fact that man can realize fully his potentialities only through abiding by the commandments of Allah and following the illustrious example of the Holy Prophet(peace be upon him) in all aspects of life.

Every individual is a unique phenomenon. He comes to the world alone; he goes out of it alone. And alone is he called upon by his Creator and Sustainer to account for the deeds he performed in this world. There is no proxy in birth. There is no proxy in feelings of pleasure and pain There is no proxy in death. There is no proxy in accountability accountability according to the degree of self-consciousness of the individual. To be conscious is to be responsible

Yet the question remains whether a self really become conscious and is ever fully realized. All sensate and insensate existences, barring human beings, mature into what they ought to. A seed grows into a full tree according to its genre. An animal is a born animal and grows into a complete animal of its kind. All plants are earth-rooted from the beginning to the end. All animals remain almost at the same level of animality throughout their lives. They cannot outgrow their animality. They are not created for doing that.

And what about man? Does he remain at the same level from birth to death? He does not. He rises. He can soar higher than solar heights His uppermost reach cannot be defined or delimited. Le Compte du Nouy ends his book *Human Destin* with the following words that flatter as well as warn and caution

> 'And let him[man] above all never forget that the Divine spark is in him and in him alone and that he is free to discard it or to come closer to God by showing eagerness to work with Him and for Him."

Man in his spatial aspect is a material existence—a handful of clay. But that is just the start. And in the words of 'Allama Iqbal:

> "It is not the origin of a thing that matters, it is the capacity, the significance, and the final reach of the emergent that matters."[1]

As a spatial aspect a man is bound to be ordered and governed by material pulls only, a state that manifests the dominance of unbridled instincts. There is nothing essentially wrong with instincts. Their running riot is wrong. All forces need control, but control does not mean elimination. Controlled instincts are like broken horses, who are much more useful than the unbroken ones. It takes long to reach the stage where instincts bow before the commanding rational self. This means the dominance of spirit over matter. The impulse for change is an ingrained quality of man. Factors from outside only shake into wakefulness the slumbering inner possibilities. Without the inner capability no foreign aid can be of any use. Man learns and achieves what animals cannot. Man does so because he can. Iqbal says:

> "Indeed the evolution of life shows that though in the beginning the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental, as it grows in power, tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence."[2]

First of all, a man should be conscious of what he wants to prefer and to what. This consciousness is the starting point towards consolidating one's self—a self has to progress to achieve oneness. If a human existence is mentally not one, it is none. If there are many "selves" in one "self," then the self concerned is without one particular entity. Achievements in the realm of genuine manhood are not possible for a man unless he succeeds first in achieving "oneness" within him.

Learning in a general sense may make a good physician of a homo sapiens. Experience may build an ordinary artisan into a renowned architect; training may turn a rough farmer or a herdsman into a competent commander of a well-equipped army; instruction and knowledge may shape an ordinary political worker into an intelligent diplomat, a carter may evolve into Jimmy Carter, so on and so forth. But an individual's evolution towards this stage or that does not necessarily entail his genuine manhood. He may inwardly remain an animal, ruthless, covetous, avaricious, cruel. Any such highly placed person can do anything. Benevolence, sympathy and sacrifice may have nothing to do with him. He may not even possess an idea of fairplay and justice. How could it be without moral training?

Even a learned judge may have no plain notion of justice. There is no contradiction in this stance. Judges themselves know that they pronounce judgments according to the legal code to be followed. They are supposed to know the law and decide cases brought before them accordingly. Legal justice is one thing, moral justice is quite another Hence, even a judge, just by virtue of being a judge, cannot be adjudged to be a moral person. He can be anything. A judge may even be really just, but outside the court.

Man is a microcosm. He possesses the essence of all qualities possessed by everything in the universe, sensate as well as insensate. He has within himself the elemental principles of Nature that govern the universe. This necessarily implies that a particle of divinity should also be his. Keeping all this in view, we proudly declare: "O God! Man is great." No doubt, man is great potentially. It is the essential vocation of man to realize his true manhood which necessarily brings him nearest to God surpassing angels.

God is one. He who endeavours towards God should also, in the long run, be one. Man's conviction is the state of his directing all faculties possessed by him towards one point. Conviction is the central point of one's personality. A determination backed by conviction is the manifest sum total of one's powers. In other words, the determined conviction means the readiness of personality for some achievement. The stronger the determination, the greater the achievement. Yet the fact is that efforts which are not God-oriented cannot make an individual necessarily a unified self for ever. Only a lasting purpose can give a lasting oneness to the seeker. The Purpose of all purposes asks for an all-compassing singleness of man's personality.

Every purpose has an impact on the personality of the pursuer Look at the mental quality of an idol-worshipper versus that of a worshipper of One God. No single god is an embodiment of all godly attributes. Every idol has some particular quality or qualities, hence so many idols. This gives the devotees, inevitably, split personalities, one person having more than one personality. Or suppose some wooden or golden idol possesses many heads, tongues and hands. Can a worshipper then be expected to possess coherence in his thought process, or uniformity in his dealings with others, or congruity in the import of his words of promise and pledge? If the thought process be one, the word one, and similarly the outlook one, then a god should not have many heads; tongues and hands. This is the clear case of many personalities in one. An idolater, howesoever civilised and sophisticated, can never be an integrated single person, hence essentially never a reliable entity. The character and behaviour of an idolater may be congruent with millions of other devotees

of the same idols, yet it remains fundamentally different from the genuine believer in one imageless and transcendent God. The condition for the believer in God is genuineness. A.M. Hocart, discussing Greek gods observes:

"As the gods so must be the sacrificer, for the sacrificer and his acolytes represent the gods. It is necessary that he should know the myth which describes how gods succeeded." 3

Man forgets that the universe is "uni-verse" only because it is created and sustained by one encompassing Divine Law of the Almighty Who is One. Says Khalifa Abdul Hakim: "All nature is one because its creator is one. Everything is connected with everything else nearly or remotely." 4 If there were more than one creator the universe would have had different laws of Nature and conflicting spheres of sway. Could that universe turned multiverse last?

Man begins to cultivate oneness in him when he starts rising above material pulls. Conquering his material self brings him near to conquering the universe, because in his own self he is a microcosm. He who rules the microcosm should be capable of ruling the macrocosm. Man's God-ward journey frees him by degrees from earthly bondages. He rises above flesh He fears God only He seeks no favour from anyone other than God. Fear of material loss or hope of material gain, by and by, lose their grip and significance. The State comes when, in Iqbal's words, the "mental dominates the physical and independence is achieved." Man feels he has become his own master. What a thrill! In Iqbal's opinion:

چیست دیں برخاستن از روے خاک تا زخود آگاہ گردد جانِ پاک 5

"What is Islam? It is rising above the level of dust, so that the soul purged of matter, becomes self-conscious." 6

This shows that man's journey towards the One is a unifying experience His unity within grows in proportion to the height from matter. He should become one provided he imbibes the attributes of God a state attainable only through abiding by God's Law and thus becoming God-centred. George D. Kelsay stated in this regard:

"Man is truly man and truly person only if he responds in obedient love to the Divine call. He is so created that he has no true life except in God He is an independent being who can only be himself in free response to the call of God in every detail of his life." 7

The best concrete example of godly persons whose lives were bodi

presentations of God s guidance in all aspects of their lives were the Prophets of God. All Prophets had superior selves, compared with the peoples of the societies they were enjoined to live with and preach. The basic teachings of all of them were the same. The Prophets of God epitomised God's mercy on human beings, because, left to themselves, they could have no clear idea of good and evil, truth and falsehood, justice and transgression, pride and humility, covetousness and sacrifice and so on. This means they could have no notion of an integrated personality and character. They could not become truly men

Human beings, different as they are from all other existences, had to be brought up differently.All other living existences were given instincts to motivate them, to warn them, to pull them, to deter them, in short they are the sole guidance of almost all kinds of animality. But man is far superior to all other beings in respect of spiritual potentialities. His life, according to the Revealed Books, is a particle of Divine breath. This makes manifest that for man the possibilities of progress are unlimited He, according to the Qur'an, is called upon to assume "the colour of God for that is the best colour". Similarly, the Holy Prophet(peace be upon him) urged human beings to inculcate in them the Godly way. How could they be asked to do this if they were not capable of doing it ? They can therefore, they should.

Man is not his own creator, hence he does not know what his real worth and significance is . He cannot grasp himself with the help of scientific apparatus created by his own calibre. He is essentially a spiritual being. Spiritual and body together make such a unit as is too elusive for any technical device, howsoever acute, accurate and subtle it may be. Only a spiritually more commanding•person can overwhelm one who is spiritually lower in comparison. This is why the Holy Prophet had ordained his followers to beware of Godly persons. They were characterised by the Holy Prophet as spies on the hearts of men. Similarly, the Holy Prophet warned: "Beware of the foresight of a believer. He sees with Divine light"

Men of God overwhelm others because of their better intuitive wakefulness. This state can be achieved by following the guidelines expressly given by the Prophets of God who were nearest to Him in respect of their God-centredness. C.A. Richardson characterised such superior human beings, in metaphoric sense no doubt,as "sons of God". He lays down his opinion as follows:

> 'Moreover, as God is immanent in monads, the metaphor of sons of God may be applied to all as Christ himself pointed out–otherwise as transcendant, God is distinct from Christ as from all monads.The

mmanence of God in every highly developed personality would result in an exceptional manifestation of his nature through that personality and this is in accordance with Christian belief." 8

This is in accordance not only with Christian belief; it is in accordance with rather all religions based on God's revelation through His Prophets. And we Muslims believe that God's revealed teaching and guidance became perfect in the form of the Holy Qur'an which bears testimony to the truth of all previously revealed Books and represents them all with much more to add. Similarly, the Holy Prophet represents all Prophets of God and is the embodiment of the perfection of Prophecy. In this regard Iqbal says:

"In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition." 9

Given one perfect code of life to follow, now man could be left free to make his own choice. Now, he was free to accept or reject what the Qur'an offered and what the Holy Prophet preached and practised. This, in Iqbal's opinion, was essential for the unification of all human societies. If God be the centre of the universe, then Muhammad (peace be upon him) s to be the Centre of the world of man. Mankind must unite around on centre It is inevitable

Finality of Prophethood is one of the greatest boons of God bestowed on mankind because this gives one and only one source of perfect and standard morality to be imbibed by all humanity so that they become one ast brotherhood, with common behaviour and the same outlook on life and necessarily with common rights and duties. Islam being the last revealed religion, has to serve as the spiritual rallying point of humanity Islam as such has the capacity to stand for a fatherland as well as a family in the eves of a Muslim. Thus, humanity may get rid of racial, territorial and colour prejudices, which serve as perpetual prompters towards man-killing and other manifold collective outrages perpetrated by man against man

An integrated self is a unity It is a state that indicates consciousness o the self Only a conscious self can be conscious of other selves This way, all humanity can become one large brotherhood and, in the words of Iqbal, it would be the "spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam" In that spiritual democracy there would be no highhanded racial groups of ruling masters and miserable sections of "suffering servants," no colour bar, no class hatred Men have been created through "one breath of life the should all urn to the One

The universe with all its infinite vastness and dimensions is essentially governed by one and only one encompassing Nature. This oneness of Nature is on account of One God. The world for man is a field of actions and trials, rewards and punishments, pleasures and pains and so on, so that man's potentialities actualize and his possibilities realize. There is no racial, territorial, colour or class distinction within man's spirit, nor without. Everything is from the One and for everyone. Everyone should be genuinely one by believing in One God, testifying to the unity of all phenomena of Nature, adhering to one code of life and following the illuminating example of the Holy Prophet—one eternal embodiment of human perfection.

In the end I express my heartfelt thanks to Mr. A.K. Brohi, the celebrated scholar and exponent of Islamic teachings, who has graced this collection of my articles with a very valuable introduction. His quantum of affection for me is much more than I deserve. May God bless him with ever-increasing spiritual and moral strength! I also owe a debt of earnest gratitude to my friends Prof. A.R. Anjum of Government College,Lahore, and Prof. Azhar Javed Tariq of Government College, Murree, for their precious help.

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8. *Reconstruction, p. 126.*

HARMONY IN IQBAL'S THOUGHT

It is generally believed that Pythagoreans were the first among the philosophers to call the world a "cosmos," i.e. an orderly whole, and maintain that man was a microcosm, i.e. a cosmos in miniature. According to them, the essential characteristics and the governing principles of the macrocosm were epitomised in the being of man. They added that by making a close study of these characteristics and principles of the universe and particularly its orderliness, man could bring harmony and orderliness in his own self. We find many verses in the Qur'an that have a bearing on this doctrine.

'No want of proportion will you see in the creation of the Most Gracious [God]. So turn your vision again: Do you see any flaw?"1

Verily, We have created everything in [due] measure."2

"And the heaven He has raised high and set up the balance in order that you do not transgress [due] balance." 3

Thus, according to the Qur'an, God's creation is not haphazard and everything in it goes by law, proportion and measure. The Qur'an also enjoins on man to study and ponder over the presence of balance, proportion and order in the universe so as to bring all this in his own life. The whole idea, according to some modern scholars, seems to be embedded in man's religious consciousness. Lyman Brysan, for example, maintains: "The religious impulse, in all its forms, no matter how primitive in expression or how mature and profound, is always a faith that there is an ultimate harmony between the nature of the universe and man's dim ideas of justice, mercy and righteousness." 4 Harmony in the sense of balance in the dialectical forces of opposition seems to be the ontological base of the very existence of the material universe. The moment this balance is lost, the universe would cease to exist. This is also true of the existence of man and society, both in the physical and in the moral sense.

Harmony with its implied dialectical bipolarity of the opposites seems to be the very quintessence of Iqbal's thought. His philosophy of "self" is not without that of "selflessness". His *Shikwah* could not be left alone; it had to be weighed against *Jawab-i-Shikwah* He finds good as well as bad points in different "isms". He could praise Mussolini for his

fascinating and powerful personality, yet he did criticise his act of aggression against Ethiopia. He could never eulogise extremes. His poetical works present a fine blend of form and matter. He holds balance between words and meanings; the metres of his verses and lengths of his poems are commensurate with their diction as well as with their themes.

Iqbal had keenly studied philosophy of both the East and the West. He was well versed in literature, history and law. A student of science he perhaps never was, yet he kept a keen eye on the latest scientific discoveries and theories. Being thus equipped intellectually he was in a position to pick up good points from different systems of polity, philosophy, economics and what not, and weave them into a new pattern.

Iqbal easily discerned that almost every philosophy that dealt with human beings laid stress on this or that aspect of life and thus brought all others under subjugation of that particular aspect; various ideologies and isms dealt with life only in a fragmentary manner. He keenly felt that human life at large was to be taken as one co-ordinated whole, nay, the whol universe was to be considered an organic unity. Says he:

حقیقت ایک ہے ہر شے کی خاکی ہو کہ نوری ہو
لہو خورشید کا ٹپکے اگر ذرے کا دل چیریں [5]

'The reality of all things is one, be they terrestrial or celestial.

The blood of the sun runs through the heart of an atom, should one cut it open."

In one of his Qit'ahs in Persian he poignantly says:

دو صد دانا دریں محفل سخن گفت
سخن نازک تر از برگِ سمن گفت
ولے با من بگو آں دیدہ ور کیست
کہ خارے دید و احوالِ چمن گفت! [6]

!In this assembly [world] many a wise man has offered discourse more delicate than the jasmine flower.

Speaker to me, however, of the seer who, while observing a single thorn, could narrate the affairs of the whole garden."

The existence of such a "seer" necessarily presupposes perfect coherence among all parts of the universe; how else could he explain the affairs of the garden merely by looking at a single thorn?

It is a widespread error of interpretation of Iqbal's thought that he drew his inspiration mainly from this or that Western philosopher, Nietzsche, or Bergson, or Plato, for example. True, there is some conformity of his thought if taken in piecemeal fashion with those of others such as is to be found in the notions of "Superman," "Will to Power," "Creative Evolution," "Struggle for Existence," "Socialism," etc. But Iqbal's thought taken as a whole does not belong to anyone except to Iqbal himself. His thought taken as a whole is indeed a big creative synthesis which blends all the great ideas and all the *isms* into a perfect harmony.

This idea of harmony is a running note to be found in most of his poems. He did not compose poetry for the sake of poetry, and hence he could not be attracted by themes or notions which did not harmonize with the main line of his thought. Some inconsistencies or contradictions to be found in his writings are not other than those which are the inevitable result of gradual unveiling of his spiritual vision. His thought taken in its entirety manifests a continuous progress towards the harmonization of al. apparent contradictions and incongruities. He was certainly different from those poets who, according to the Qur'an, "wander bewildered in every valley."[7] Those who wander bewildered in every valley are the poets who do not find any purpose in the universe, otherwise they would have steadily followed some well-defined path or paths that could lead them to the cherished goal. But where there is no goal there can be only purposeless wandering. Purpose alone gives meaning to our life and brings harmony or consistency in our actions.

Iqbal's notion of harmony is best exemplified in his concept of *mard-i-mu'min*, i.e. the perfect man, who is an embodiment of the most harmonious combination of various qualities. Iqbal says of him:

نرم دمِ گفتگو، گرم دمِ جستجو

رزم ہو یا بزم ہو پاک دل و پاکباز [8]

"He (mu'min) is mild in speech and wild in action.
Be it battlefield or the assembly of friends, he is pure of heart and action."

Here are some verses from Darb-i-Kalim, given under the caption *"Mard-i-Musalman"*:

قہاری و غفاری و قدوسی و جبروت
یہ چار عناصر ہوں تو بنتا ہے مسلمان!

- - - — —

قدرت کے مقاصد کا عیار اس کے ارادے
دنیا میں بھی میزان، قیامت میں بھی میزان!
جس سے جگرِ لالہ میں ٹھنڈک ہو وہ شبنم!
دریاؤں کے دل جس سے دہل جائیں وہ طوفان!
فطرت کا سرودِ ازلی اس کے شب و روز
آہنگ میں یکتا صفتِ سورۂ رحمٰن! 9

"Forgiveness, dominance, holiness and forcefulness—
These four make Muslim of a human being.....
His intensions are the measure of destiny,
He is like a balance, both in this life and in the life hereafter.
On the one hand, he is like a drop of dew that pleases the heart of poppy flowers;
And on the other, he is such a furious gale as makes the spirit of rivers quiver.
His life is like Nature's eternal melody,
He is harmonious like the Quranic *surah: al-Rahman."*
At another place Iqbal says:

ہو حلقۂ یاراں تو بریشم کی طرح نرم
10 رزمِ حق و باطل ہو تو فولاد ہے مومن!

'While in the assembly of friends the *mu'min* is soft like silk, In a battle between Truth and Untruth he is hard as steel."

The same idea is expressed differently in the following verse:

11 گزر جا بن کے سیلِ تند رَو کوہ و بیاباں سے
گلستاں راہ میں آئے تو جوئے نغمہ خواں ہو جا

"Cross the deserts and mountains like high flood, When you come across a garden then take the form of a singing brook."

The idea of balance or harmony is more clearly enunciated in the following Qit'ah taken from *Armughan-i-Hijaz:*

ز قرآں پیش خود آئینہ آویز
دگرگوں گشتۂ! از خویش بگریز
ترازوئے بنہ کردارِ خود را
قیامت ہائے پیشیں را برانگیز[12]

"Keep the Qur'an as a mirror before you.
You have completely changed, run away from yourself.
Fix a balance for your deeds [so that you may be able to],
Stir a commotion which your forebears stirred in the past."

Iqbal longs to see this balance in every department of human life and deplores its absence. He saw that Western political and economic ascendancy was in the final analysis based on the philosophy of materialism which had no scope in it for the spiritual aspirations of man. Iqbal believed that such a lopsided culture, which was not stronger than a "nest on a delicate bough," could not endure for long. But despite his hatred for crude materialism of the West he did not go to the extreme of preaching the monastic spiritualism of the East, i.e. that of hermits and ascetics. He was not the one to lose the sense of balance even in his eversions; everything was to have its due share in the real and full development of man. Whereas the soulless and Godless Western materialism was to be counteracted by making room for spiritual values, the East was to be saved from complete subjugation by the West through scientific and technological advancements. Iqbal points out this lack of harmony prevailing in the Eastern and the Western societies thus:

بہت دیکھے ہیں میں نے مشرق و مغرب کے میخانے
یہاں ساقی نہیں پیدا، وہاں بے ذوق ہے صہبا![13]

"I have visited numerous wine-houses in the East as well as in the West.
Here I find no saqi, i.e. a cup-bearer, and there the wine has no taste".

دلِ بیدار ندادند بہ دانائے فرنگ
این قدر ہست کہ چشمِ نگرانے دارد [14]

"The European man of wisdom does not possess a wakeful heart,
Although he possesses a wakeful eye."

And here is a verse which, if taken superficially, contradicts the one just gone before:

اچھا ہے دل کے ساتھ رہے پاسبانِ عقل
لیکن کبھی کبھی اسے تنہا بھی چھوڑ دے [15]

"It is better that the heart be guarded by the intellect,
But leave it sometimes alone to itself."

This leave to breathe freely is to be given to the heart only occasionally so that it does not die out under the pressure of the intellect. As a rule, Iqbal wants to see the heart wedded to the intellect, for thus alone in the ordinary circumstances can the equilibrium of personality be kept intact. He says :

زیرکی از عشق گردد حق شناس
کارِ عشق از زیرکی محکم اساس

خیز و نقشِ عالمِ دیگر بنہ
عشق را با زیرکی آمیزہ دہ [16]

"Intellect enlightened by love becomes truth-loving,
While the affairs of love guided by intellect get a strong footing
Rise and lay the foundations of another world,
Where love is mingled with intellect."

There has been a long controversy whether or not Iqbal prefers heart or intuition to intellect. Even if Iqbal often seems to prefer the former to the latter, never does he want us to do away with intellect altoghether. How could he go to such an extreme? Iqbal's belief in "harmony" is so strong with him that he is not prepared to accept even religious inspiration (barring the revelations of Prophets) unless it is scrutinised by reason

صاحب ساز کو لازم ہے کہ غافل نہ رہے
[17] گاہے گاہے غلط آہنگ بھی ہوتا ہے سروش!

"The man of music, i.e. one who depends on intuition, should always be watchful,
Sometimes the angel who brings music, i.e. the one who brings inspiration, is himself out of tune."

It means that intuition left to itself is not always reliable; it has to be constantly tested against the touchstone of reason. But reason by itself is abstract and lifeless; it has to be constantly enlivened and enlightened by intuition. Both are in need of mutual supplementation and rejuvenation.

Again, all our instincts and passions are to be regulated by the same principle of harmony or balance. No instinct is to be altogether thwarted, nor is it be allowed to override others. All instincts have their functions within limits. In Iqbal's opinion this demarcation of limits is the *Shariah* or the 'Divine law". Ego, be it of Hitler or that of Mussolini, when it yields to the "Divine Law" and begins to respect the "limits" becomes Muslim. This respect for "limits" is "justice", which, according to Taha Husain, is the central principle of all Islamic injuctions. According to the Qur'an, one who transgresses the "limits", is a *mur'tid* or *zalim,* and God Almighty does not like him. This is why in the Islamic jurisprudence *hadd*, i.e. the "limits" is synonymous with "punishment". The long and short of it is that to remain within "limits" is to be harmonious, good and beautiful. Imam Ghazali makes a very clear pronouncement in this regard. "Beauty", he says, "has almost universally been recognized as a thing of intrinsic value. It means the orderly and systematic arrangement of parts, and this is not the quality of material things only; it lies in the activities and the behaviour of man and in his ideas and concepts. Whatever is beautiful is loved by us for its own sake.[18]" This immediately recalls to our mind Iqbal's already referred to beautiful lines in praise of *Mard-i-Musalman* and more particullarly the following:

آہنگ میں یکتا صفت سورۂ رحمٰن [19]

Sometimes it is held that Iqbal's concept of Ego—the very pivotal nation of his philosophy—stands for the glorification of power. Nothing can be more misleading than this Power, according to Iqbal, must be qualified; it is with him not blind and aimless and thus sheer ruthlessness. Whatever power there is for man, it is on account of his respect for "limits" *(hudud).* Bowing before "limits" is the very essence of power. In his opinion there is no power without some sort of compulsions or obligations.

Iqbal's idea of balance or harmony is no other than that of compulsion accepted by the component parts of an organic whole. Take the example of music: it is only the discordant sounds compelled to harmonize; it is to this compulsion that music owes its strength and its magic-power. Again, what is the Taj Mahal, the exquisite poetry in marble, one of the greatest wonders of the world? It is only the building material of different kinds compelled to obey some laws, without which raw material could never have created such an awe in the hearts of the onlookers. What is an army? It is only a horde of individuals compelled to organise themselves and observe discipline, wherein lies its power to conquer and defend. Without a self-imposed discipline and compulsion the army is merely a lawless mob. The whole idea has been beautifully expressed by Iqbal in a number of verses such as the following :

برگ گل شد چوں ز آئیں بستہ شد
گل ز آئیں بستہ شد گلدستہ شد
نغمہ از ضبطِ صدا پیداستے
ضبط چوں رفت از صدا غوغاستے
در گلوے ما نفس موجِ ہواست
[20] چوں ہوا پابندِ نے گردد نواست

"The petal becomes a rose when bound by law,
And the rose bound by law becomes a nosegay.
The music is a controlled sound;
When the cotrol is gone, the music is turned into noise.
Breath in our throat is a wave of air, which imprisoned in a reed becomes a melody."

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1. *Al-Quran, lxvii. 4.*
2. *Ibid., liv. 49.*
3. *Ibid., Lv. 7,8.*
4. *Patterns of Ethics in America Today, p. 108.*
5. *Bang-i Dara, p. 21.*
6. *Armughan-i Hijaz, p. 134.*
7. *Al-Quran, xxvi. 225.*
8. *Bal-i Jibril, p. 97.*
9. *Darb-i Kalim, p. 60.*
10. *Ibid., p. 45.*
11. *Bang-i Dara, p. 274.*
12. *Armughan-i-Hijaz, p. 73.*
13. *Bal-i Jibril, p. 23.*
14. *Zabur-i Ajam, p. 130.*
15. *Bang-i Dara, p. 108.*
16. *Javid Namah, p. 65.*
17. *Bal-i Jibril, p. 75.*
18. *M.M.Sharif (Ed.), A History of Muslim Philosophy, Wiesbaden, 1963. Vol. I. p. 636.*
19. *Dard-i Kalim, p. 58.*
20. *Asrar-o-Rumaz (Rumuz-i Bekhudi), p. 140.*

IQBAL'S IDEA OF FAQR

LITERALLY *faqr* signifies a state of poverty and destitution; hence a *faqir* is one who is poor, destitute or needy. *faqr*, *faqir* and *fuqara*, (plural of *faqir*) have occurred in the Holy Qur'an at several places carrying the same connotation :

الشیطٰن یعدکم الفقر ویأمرکم بالفحشاء ع [1]

Satan threatens you with poverty and leads you to unseemly conduct.

رب انی لما انزلت الیّ من خیر فقیر ٥ [2]

My Lord, I am truly in need of any good that You may send me.

یایها الناس انتم الفقراء الی الله ع والله هو الغنی الحمید ٥ [3]

O ye men, it is you who have need of God Who is the One Free of all wants, the Praiseworthy.

There are many sayings attributed to the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) that carry the same meanings, for example

"کاد الفقر ان یکون کفرا"

Poverty borders on infidelity.

It is very likely that in a state of utter destitution a man's convictions may become unhinged and his faith, losing its anchor, may drift towards the dark alleys of faithlessness. 4

It is, however, to be noted that the holy Prophet is also reported to have said الفقر فخری (Poverty is my pride). Surely the Prophet could not take pride in poverty that bordered on infidelity; it means that there is a vast difference between the meaning of the term *faqr* used in this saying of the Prophet and the one referred to above.

This second *faqr* signifies that the Prophet did not like for himself a life of affluence through his own deliberate choice. As a rule he never kept

any wealth with him; instad he used to spend whatever he possessed on the needs of others in preference to his own. During the early years of his prophethood, the leaders of the Quraish approached him with a request to refrain from making "sacrilegious" remarks about their idols and in return offered to pay him whatever amount of gold and silver he would like to demand of them. To this the holy Prophet said that even if they should place the sun on his one hand and the moon on the other, he would not be dissuaded from the execution of the mission for which he had been deputed b the Almighty. In the later years of his life in Medina, huge amounts of enemy spoils began to pour in and great wealth accumulated through the recovery of *zakat* and *kharaj* along with other taxes, and yet the holy Prophet kept on leading a life of detachment from worldly goods till the ery end. It means that *faqr* which the Prophet considered to be his pride was in spirit altogether different from the *faqr* understood in the genera sense.

Thus, there are two kinds of *faqr*: the one is which, forced by his circumstances, a man leads a life of poverty and destitution, and the other a deliberate attitude of detachment, i.e. a life of poverty through one's own free choice even though one should have all the worldly goods and amenities at one's disposal. Surely a life of poverty through one's own choice cannot lead one to infidelity· it rather signifies a state of spiritual elevation and loftiness. In *Ghuniyat-al-Talibin*, a work reportedly written by Shaikh Abd al-Qadir Jilani of Baghdad, we come across the following significant passage·

> It behaves the *faqir* to love his poverty as much as a wealthy person loves his wealth. One who is wealthy makes every effort that his wealth does not diminish. A *faqir* should also do the same so that his *faqr* might not suffer decline.[5]

In a way this second kind of *faqr* has assumed a technical sense as against a purely literal one. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said:

ليس الغنى عن كثرة العرض ولكن الغنى غنى النفس

> Richness does not depend on the enormity of wealth; rich is one whose soul is rich

The following quotation from the sayings ascribed to Hazrat Ali will perhaps further help to elucidate this point:

> For His creation God has made *faqr* both a reward and a punishment In case it is reward, the poor man becomes good-tempered, obeys God,

and does not g umble over his lot; instead he thanks God for his poverty. On the other hand if poverty is intended to be a punishment, the man becomes ill-tempered, disobeys God, grumbles frequently over his lot and is *cross* with his fate *(qada.)*[6]

The *Faqr* that we come across in Iqbal's poetry is the *faqr* through choice, which creates in man the dignity of detachment, a godly state of being free of wants. It is obvious that he who has been deprived of wealth through the fate of his circumstances is quite other than the one who rejects wealth even while he is surrounded by it. He who rejects wealth even when he could ratain it and amass it surely is his wown master, for he refuses to fall a prey to worldly comforts and luxuries. But to attain to the spiritual state of detachment from the worldly goods and thus be free from entanglement in them is a tough job. Says Iqbal:

ہمت ہو اگر تو ڈھونڈ وہ فقر   جس فقر کی اصل ہے حجازی
اس فقر سے آدمی میں پیدا   اللہ کی شانِ بے نیازی
یہ فقرِ غیور جس نے پایا   بے تیغ و سناں ہے مردِ غازی
مومن کی اسی میں ہے امیری   اللہ سے مانگ یہ فقیری

Search, if you can forbear, the *faqr* that originated in Hijaz. That *aqr* creates in man the godly virtue of being free from all wants. Whosoev. is in possession of the honourable *faqr* is a *Ghazi* even without sword and a spear.

In it lies the wealth for the faithful; beseech the Lord to bestow this *aqr* on you. "

From the above verses it becomes clear that Iqbal's use of the term *aq* is in its technical sense. The synonym for *Faqr* in Persian and Urdu being *dervishi*, a *faqir* is the same as a *dervish*. This may be noted in 'Ali al-Hujwiri's usage of these words He quotes Junaid of Baghdad as saying

یا معشر الفقراء انکم تعرفون باللہ وتکرمون للہ

and then translates it into Persian

اے شما کہ درویشانند شمارا بخداوند شناسند و از برائے او کرامت کنند[8]

O ye, the society of *dervishes (faqirs)* you are known on account of God and you are respected for His sake.

Iqbal's *faqir* too is a *dervish* in the above mystical sense and not a poor man or a beggar in the popular sense. Iqbal's thought however, passed through various stages of development before it attained its final form. For example, in the beginning he was in favour of Indian nationalism and only gradually did he move to the idea of Muslim nationhood. Similarly in his earlier poems idea of love was as "easy-going" as that of Dagh (whom he chose his guide in poetry although Akbar Allahabadi and Hali were still alive) and it is only at a later stage that he spoke of love as divine:

عشق خدا کا رسول، عشق خدا کا کلام [9]

Love is the prophet of God; Love is the Word of God.

The same is true of his other notions such as *taqdir*, *khudi*, etc. These did not come to him ready-made; he laboured hard, now plunging into the turbulent sea of knowledge and now throwing himself into the oven of contemplation to elaborate, refine and fully develop his ideas. In his own words his condition for long had been as under:

اسی کشمکش میں گزریں مری زندگی کی راتیں
[10] کبھی سوز و سازِ رومی کبھی پیچ و تابِ رازی

I have spent the nights of my life in a state of extreme tension, now burning like Rumi and now restless like Razi.

In his early writings the word *faqr* has been used by Iqbal in the usual sense of poverty. In the third part of the *Bang-i-Dara* which contains the selection of his poems in Urdu composed from 1908 to 1923, there appears to be a definite change in his outlook. Of his poem: "An address to the Muslim Youth" the last couplet reads

سماں "الفقر فخری" کا رہا شانِ امارت میں
[11] بآب و رنگ و خال و خط چہ حاجت روئے زیبا را

Their [Muslims'] glorious rule was an embodiment of the Prophet saying:——— "Faqr is my pride"
A beautiful face does not stand in need of any cosmetic aids to make more beautiful.'

After *Bang-i-Dara* the use of the word *Faqr* and its derivatives increased in Iqbal's poems and in his last two works, namely, *Darb-i-Kalim* and *Armughan-i-Hijaz*, this has become much more frequent. He even addresses himself as a *faqir* for example in the following *Qit'ah*

سرودِ رفتہ باز آید کہ ناید؟
نسیمے از حجاز آید کہ ناید
سرآمد روزگارِ ایں فقیرے
دگر دانائے راز آید کہ ناید؟

> The bygone melodies may or may not be chanted again.
> The gentle zephyr from *Hijaz,* may or may not blow again.
> The life-span of this *faqir* [Iqbal] has neared its end.
> Someone else who knows the secret may or may not be born again

Iqba is not alone in calling himself a *faqir*, it has been customary with many Sufis to address themselves so more particularly those who wrote in Persian:

While urging upon the Muslims to seek the original faqr which has its roots in *Haijaz* Iqbal has used the conditional clause "if you can forbear' to do so, indicating thereby that it is not easy to attain to the status of a faqır. A *faqir* has to follow the *Shari'ah* strictly, which is the very *sine qua non* for one to be elevated to the state of *faqr* Ahmad ibn Hiwar whom Junaid of Baghdad held in high esteem says:

من عمل بلا اتباع رسول الله فعمله باطل

> He who performs an act without following the Holy Prophet, that ac of his is of no avail.[13]

Similarly Abu Yazid of Bistam, a celebrated *Sufi* of the third century a.h observes:

> It you find a man capable of performing miracles such as to be able to soar up in the air, do not get duped by him till you see his practical life governed by strict allegiance to the Commandments and Prohibitions, his regard for Limits, and respect for the Code of *Shari'ah.*[14]

The *faqirs* and *Sufis* of repute were, by and large, men of vast learning and profound scholarship. Moreover as true followers of the Prophet they acted as teachers, reformers and guides to help fellow human beings to follow the *Shari'ah.* In other words the true *faqirs* did not shut themselves up in monasteries or caves spending all their lives in meditation and prayers. If for a certain period of their lives they sought seclusion, it was to undergo a certain religious discipline which among other things would prepare them for the service of mankind Thus the state of seclusion of a *faqir* or a *Sufi* in

Islam has generally been a temporary phase in his life The Prophet is believed to have said:

لا رهبانية في الاسلام

(No monasticism in Islam).

The *Sufis* indeed were quite busy people. The worshipped their Lord, they studied and wrote books and they imparted spiritual instructions and guidance to others. In reality these "men of God" have all along been the backbone of Muslim social structure. Almost all the *Sufis* known for their *faqr* were great scholars in diverse branches of knowledge and were specially well-versed in the field of *Shari'ah.* As teachers and guides of the people an as guardians of the *Shari'ah* they often came into open conflict with the rulers of their times. In such situations of conflict these "men of God" were averse to making any compromises with the men in power or allowing them any concession in matters of religion. They stuck to their grounds to the last and exhibited great courage in this regard. All in all, a true *faqir* in Islam is a creative thinker and a man of great deeds. This was very well understood by Iqbal. While making a clear distinction between *faqr* and monasticism, he says :

کچھ اور چیز ہے شاید تری مسلمانی — تری نگاہ میں ہے ایک فقر و رہبانی
سکوں پرستیِ راہب سے فقر ہے بیزار — فقیر کا ہے سفینہ ہمیشہ طوفانی
یہ فقر مردِ مسلماں نے کھو دیا جب سے — رہی نہ دولتِ سلمانی و سلیمانی [15]

'Perhaps your Islam is different from what it really is, for in our eye

faqr and monasticism are one.
Faqr is sick of the monkish love of intertia; the ship of the *faqir* is always on the stormy seas.
Every since this faqr has been lost to the Muslims, they are bereft of the dignity of Salman as well as Solomon."

A reference in the last line has been made to Salman and Solomon. As is well known Solomon was a Prophet of God and the ruler of a vast territory. Not only human beings but *jinn* too surrendered themselves to his authority. Salman was one of the devoted companions of the Holy Prophet, who led the simplest possible life even while he was a ruler. Iqbal has paid great tributes to the inspiring memory of Hazrat Salman in the following lines which show that for a Muslim ruler there is no difference between faqr and kingship. Here again *faqr* signifies an attitude of detachment in respect of wordly goods.

آں مسلماناں کہ میری کردہ اند　　در شہنشاہی فقیری کردہ اند

در امارت فقر را افزودہ اند　　مثل سلمانؓ در مدائن بودہ اند

حکمرانے بود و سامانے نداشت

دستِ او جز تیغ و قرآنے نداشت [16]

"Muslims who wielded authority always behaved as *faqirs* even when they were emperors.

Even as rulers they promoted *faqr*. In this they were like Salman who lived in *Mada'in*.
He [Salman] was a ruler but had no belongings. He possessed only a sword and a copy of the Holy Qur'an."

This Salman-Solomon relationship has been clearly explained by 'Ali al-Hujwiri in his famous work *Kashf-al-Mahjub.* He remarks :

Every man is "poor", even though he be a prince. Essentially the wealth of Solomon and the poverty of Salman are one. God said to Job in the extremity of his patience, and likewise to Solomon in the plenitude of his dominion: "God's servant that thou art!" (Al-Qur'an, xxxviii 29,44). When God's pleasure was accomplished, it made no difference between the poverty (of Salman) and the wealth (of Solomon)" [17]

All this has been poignantly summed up by Iqbal in a single verse:

یہ فقرِ مردِ مسلماں نے کھو دیا جب سے

رہی نہ دولتِ سلمانی و سلیمانی [18]

According to the Qur'an, one remarkable characteristic of those who believe in God and love Him is that "they prefer (others) above themselves even if poverty be their own lot." [19] In other words, they spend on others and thus welcome poverty for themselves. Abu al-Hasan al-Nuri defines a *faqir* thus:

نعت الفقر السکون عند العدم والبذل والایثار عند الوجود

'The qualification of a *faqir* is that he ramains contented even when he is empty-handed; and when he possesses something he spends it all on others in a spirit of self-sacrifice." [20]

There is an obvious difference between *bazl* (spending) and *ithar* (self-sacrifice) as used in the above statement. Shaikh Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi explains it thus:

"As for *bazl,* it means spending with a view to paying for some goods received in the past or expecting to have something in return in the future. This sort of bargaining is common with people at large. As for *ithar* it signifies to take an initiative to sacrifice one's own interest for others without expecting anything in return. This is the trait of the chosenones."[21]

But this spirit of self-sacrifice cannot be inculcated in the mind of men without first imbuing them with an intense love for God on Whose mercy depends the existence of the whole universe. Al-Qushairi expressing his views on the subject says :

"The minimum mark of an attitude of *faqr* towards God is that a person who is in possession of the whole world spends it out for the sake of others in a single day. Should he cherish the slightest desire to retain with him even as much as the provisions for a day, he is not blessed with *faqr* "[22]

This, in fact, is in accordance with the standpoint of the *Sufis* who hold that if they are poor *(faqir)* for the sake of God, they are nevertheless rich on account of Him and that one condition necessarily implies the other[23] *The raison da'atre* of this richness in poverty and poverty in richness is the belief that man in reality owns nothing. Everything belongs to God and whatever a man possesses, in fact, is a trust from God to be returned to Him according to His directions as laid down in the Qur'an, such as to help the needy, the orphan, the wayfarer, etc. Shaikh Shihab al-Din al-Suhrwardi elaborates this point in his *'Awarif al-Ma'arif'* in very clear terms

"Their *faqr* is so well ingrained in them [the *Sufis*] that whether they have or they do not have any worldly possessions this quality does not suffer any change. Even if the fortunes of the whole world be handed over to them they remain free from the sense of their ownership. . . . . The "men of vision" have preferred wealth to poverty and poverty to wealth, both being equal in their eyes. The right path for the beginners and the middlers, however, is to consider poverty better than wealth. Only for those who have attained [some degree of] perfection in their *faqr,* are wealth and poverty alike, because even in a state of affluence they are not at all deprived of their *faqr* 'Abdullah ibn Jala says ; "*Faqr,* is that nothing belongs to you. When nothing belongs to you and nothing is yours, you also do not belong to anything."[24]

We have every reason to believe that Iqbal was very well acquainted with the writings of the above referred to "God-in-toxicated philanthropists" who by virtue of the purity of their heart and sincerity of purpose commanded immense respect and were looked up to as real rulers of the Muslim community. The following verses of Iqbal amply bear this out.

چوں بکمال می رسد فقر دلیلِ خسروی است
مسندِ کیقباد را در تہِ بوریا طلب[25]

" When *faqr* becomes perfect it attains kingship.
Try to find the throne of *Kaiquabad* under the coarse mat (of the *faqir*),"

خلافت، فقر با تاج و سریر است — زہے دولت کہ پایاں ناپذیر است
جواں بختا! مدہ از دست ایں فقر — کہ بے او پادشاہی زود میر ست[26]

"What is Caliphate? Faqr accompanied by crown and throne. Behind! the State that is everlasting.
O ye the fortunate one, do not give up (thy) *faqr*,
For without it kingdom soon comes to naught."

The above theme has been reiterated by Iqbal in a number of other verses for example in the following two verses taken from his well-known poem "Mosque of Cordova".

آہ وہ مردانِ حق وہ عربی شہسوار
حاملِ "خلقِ عظیم" صاحبِ صدق و یقیں
جن کی حکومت سے ہے فاش یہ رمزِ غریب
سلطنتِ اہلِ دل فقر ہے شاہی نہیں[27]

" O those men of God, the Arab cavaliers of note !
The bearers of excellent conduct truthful and men of strong convictions.
Their manner of rule made clear the wonderful mystery.
That the government by the lovers (of God) is through *faqr* and not through kingship."

It is to be carefully noted that *faqr* in Islam does not stand for monasticism, nor is a *faqir* a monk. In the history of Islam there appeared great men who renounced the material comforts and pleasures and rejected

worldly position and glory for the sole purpose of serving mankind. Amongst them were scholars of high repute, jurists, poets, commentators of the Qur'an and Hadith, who enjoined upon themselves the duties of selfless guides and devoted teachers and thus purged humanity of all that was rubbish and dross. Such was Abduliah ibn al-Mubarak who was a scholar and soldier at the same time. So was the great Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, a scholar of a very high rank, who underwent imprisonment and suffered tortures at the hands of Emperor Jehangir but remained firm in his denouncement of "innovations" in Islam sponsored by the Court. There have in fact been hundreds of such "men of truth" who came to the rescue of Muslim society at different times of its moral and religious degeneratio perilous storms and steered it to the shores of safety.

For these pillars of Islam *faqr* was not merely a theoretical affair but a rigorous practical training to face all kinds of hard-ships encountered in the execution of their duties as reformers and teachers. Many a time they came into conflict with the despotic rulers of the day, but never did they swerve from the right path of faith. They courageously proclaimed the truths of Islam and never made any compromises on that count.In a way they had their own distinct sway on the Muslim community parallel to that of the rulers. It can be safely maintained that the Muslims, in fact, have almost always shown more respect for the *faqirs* than for the kings; in their view the spiritual dominion of the *faqirs* was far more superior to the worldly power of kings and emperors. Hence, whenever an emperor came to pay homage to a saint or even to the shrine of a saint, he enhanced his prestige in the eyes of his subjects. On the contrary, if some saintly person happened to visit the court or the palace of a king he did so at the risk of lowering his prestige.

It is noteworthy that as long as there existed in the Muslim society the great men of the spiritual domain of *faqr*, the veritable pillars of courage and strength the Muslims never wavered in fighting against all external hazards as well as in rooting out all evils from within its social fabric whether these were due to ignorance, misrule, greed, or unjust distribution of wealth. During the absence of these undaunted persons, on the other hand, there crept into Muslim society a kind of despondency and defeatism in all spheres of life. Says Iqbal:

فقیراں تا بمسجد صف کشیدند   گریبان شہنشاہاں دریدند
چو آں آتش درونِ سینہ افسرد   مسلماناں بدرگاہاں خزیدند[28]

"As long as the *faqirs* stood in rows in the mosque for prayers they caught the emperors by their necks.
When that fire [of faith] died out, the Muslims slunk to the monasteries."

In the same vein Iqbal complains :

نہ ایراں میں رہے باقی نہ توراں میں رہے باقی
وہ بندے فقر تھا جن کا ہلاکِ قیصر و کسریٰ [29]

"Alas! men whose *faqr* used to be a death-knell to kings and emperors are no longer to be found in Iran and Turan."

True that Iqbal at times deplored the contemporary Muslims' poor attainment in the various domains of human knowledge and more particularly in the traditional sciences of Islamic religion, but it was not so much the lack of knowledge of the teachings of Islam, according to him, as the lack of will and courage to live up to the aspirations and ideals embodied in those teachings that led to the degeneration of Muslim society. Iqbal's well-known chastisement of the *Mullas, Sufis* and other religious leaders of his days is directed not against their poor and faulty scholarships but against their lassitude, love of comfort and lack of will and courage to meet the challenge of their times. Their sermons made the spirit of Muslims to droop rather than rise up to the occasion and face its hazards. They even interpreted the glorious teachings of Islam in a way which made the Muslims to accept their position as slaves of Western powers. It is against this background that Iqbal speaks of the *faqirs* as the pillars of strength and courage and embodiments of creative thought and action as is obvious from the following verse:

شیر مردوں سے ہوا بیشۂ تحقیق تہی
رہ گئے صوفی و ملا کے غلام اے ساقی [30]

"The lion-hearted men have gone from the jungle field of reserach.

O ye the cup-bearer, see that only the blind followers of the *Mullas* and *Sufis* have now been left behind."

Iqbal ranks the men of *faqr* far higher than the *Mullas* and *Sufis*, i.e. the theologians and theosophists; for the true *faqirs* are men of vision and light who open our eyes to new possibilities of human experience and new dimensions of human existence. Their knowledge is also far superior, for it is born out of an existential involvement in the verities of religion leading almost to direct encounter with the really Real. this knowledge is not merely and intellectual equipment but an inner possession which brings about a complete transformation in the being of man. This leads not only to a profound understanding of all human situations but to sincerity of purpose and an unimaginable inner strength and courage to

speak out the truth and defend it at all costs, undaunted by any threat and unhampered by any worldly considerations. All this invests the men of *faqr* with a radiating personal magnetism which affects all those who come into contact with them. It has been rightly claimed that the very glance of a *faqir* has the capacity to revolutionise the personal life of others and lift them to new and higher levels of existence. This in fact has been made the very test for distinguishing the true *faqir* from a spurious one—the letter even fails to make an impact upon his aduience through his sermons and discourses howsoever learned and high-falutin they might be This reminds us of the saying of a sage quoted by 'Abd-al-Qahir ibn 'Abdullah al Suhrawardi in his work 'Awarif al-Ma'arif meaning

من لا ينفعك لحظه لا ينفعك لفظه

"he whose glance does not benefit you, his words too are of no avail to you."[31]

Iqbal accords to *faqr* a very high place in his philosophy of education, for *faqr*, according to him, is born out of the very depths of one's heart and so it alone can lead to the real reform and regeneration of Muslim society. Says Iqbal:

علم کا مقصود ہے پاکیِ عقل و خرد　　فقر کا مقصود ہے عفتِ قلب و نگاہ
علم فقیہ و حکیم، فقر مسیح و کلیم　　علم ہے جویائے راہ، فقر ہے دانائے راہ
فقر مقامِ نظر، علم مقامِ خبر　　فقر میں مستی ثواب، علم میں مستی گناہ[32]

"The goal of knowledge is the clarity of thought and understanding, while the goal of *faqr* is the purity of heart and vision.

Knowledge is the jurist and the philosopher, while *faqr* is Christ and Moses Knowledge is in search of the path, while *faqr* has found it out already.

faqr is [penetrating] insight, while knowledge is mere information. Hence in *faqr* [spiritual] ecstasy is its reward, while for knowledge it is a sin.

REFERENCES

1. *Al-Qur'an, ii. 268.*
2. *Ibid., xxviii. 24*
3. *Ibid., xxxv. 15.*
4. *Mir Taqi Mir, the renowned poet of Urdu language, has expressed the same idea in the following couplet :*

   ترے فراق میں جیسے خیال مفلس کا — گئی ہے فکرِ پریشاں کہاں کہاں میری

   In separation from you my confounded thought like that of the imagination of a poor man has kept wandering in all directions aimlessly
5. *Ghuniyat al-Talibin (Urdu translation), Madani Kutub Khana, Lahore, p. 544.*
6. *'Abd al-Qadir ibn 'Abdullah al-Suhrawardi, 'Awarif al-Ma'arif, Dar al-Kutub 'Arabi, Beirut, p. 161.*
7. *Darb-i Kalim, p. 88.*
8. *Kashf al-mahjub edited by Rabbani, Lahore, p. 28.*
9. *Bal-i Jibril, p. 128.*
10. *Ibid., p. 27.*
11. *Bang-i Dara, p. 198.*
12. *Armughan-i Hijaz, p. 14.*
13. *Al-Ta'rruf li Mazhab-i Ahl-i Tasawwuf, p. 28 (footnote).*
14. *Ibid., p. 29 (footnote).*
15. *Darb-i Kalim, p. 47.*
16. *Payam-i-Mashriq, p. 8.*
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18. *Darb-ı Kal m, p 47.*
19. *Al Qur'an, Lix. 9.*
20 *Al-Ta'rruf li Mazhab-i Ahl-i Tasawwuf, p. 96.*

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22. *Kisalah al-Qushairiah (Urdu translation by Pir M. Hassan), p. 419.*

23. *Al-Ta'rruf li Mazhab-i Ahl-i Tasawwuf, p. 95.*

24. *Misbah al-Hidayat, p. 297.*

25. *Zabur-i Ajam p. 163.*

26. *Armughan-i Hijaz, p. 110.*

27. *Bal-i Jibril, p. 133.*

28. *Armughan-i Hijaz, p. 50*

29. *Bal i Jıbril, p. 38*

30. *Ibid., p. 17.*

3 *'Awarıı al Ma'ar f, p 120.*

32 *Ba i-i Jıbril, p 10*

IQBAL ON QURANIC CONCEPT OF HISTORY

The literal meaning of the word "*tarikh*" is to write, to narrate and to make entries. If we have to say that a letter had been written on such and such a date, we would use "*mu'arrakha*" i.e. written on: be it 11 September 1977. On the death of a certain historian a poet said mournfully:

وكان يؤرخ ذكر الانام

وهاهو ذا اليوم قد ارخا

[He used to write the accounts of other people.
Lo! today he himself has been written down.]

In more plain words, the above verse means that the historian himself became a "part of history". This shows that in technical terms "history" deals with the past, but not the past at large; it is rather the past of man in a society. Professor Toynbee define history a bit more precisely. In his words: "What we call history is the history of man in a civilized society."[1]

Professor Toynbee, continuing, maintains that if history means al that period which human beings have spent on this earth, then the civilized span will be only two per cent of the total. Keeping this stance in view perhaps it would not be far from truth if history, as a particular branch of knowledge, is considered as a link with the dawn of civilization. Prehistori ages, on the contrary, should be studied under the title of Anthropology

Now if history is taken for the story of the past, then what is the purpose served by the study of history ? Should it be studied as we study fiction ? That eventually would mean a sort of amusement. Surely it is not like this; at least Muslim historians did not accept it as fiction or fable According to Muslim historians, the contents of history are living realities Therefore, they invite those who are really alive to listen attentively and to observe the phenomena of the past with vigilant eyes. This will make man learn lessons which will add to his knowledge and wisdom and reshape him into a better human being.

In fact, the viewpoint of Muslim historians is influenced by the Holy Qur'an. The Qur'an asks the human beings time and again to go through the world with open eyes and diligent hearts "(so that they may) see what was the End of those before them.They were superior to them in strength they tilled the soil and populated it in greater numbers than these have done."[2]

Abdullah Yusuf Ali, interpreting the above-quoted verse of the Qur'an, lays down:

"Let not any generation think that it is superior to all that went before it. We may be 'heirs to all the ages, in the foremost files of time' That is no reason for arrogance, but, on the contrary adds to our responsibility. When we realize what flourishing cities and kingdoms existed before, how they flourished in numbers and prosperity, what chances they were given, and how they perished when they disobeyed the law of Gods we shall feel a sense of humility, and see that it was rebellion and self-will that brought them down."3

Those who transgressed the limits and gave themselves to covetousness, carnal pleasures and cruelty were annihilated. There were others who lost heads on account of power. Power corrupted them so much so that they saw in themselves the arttibutes of God and declared that they were gods. The reality was simple; they had ceased to live as human beings. What else could be the result ? They colided with the pervasive order of God and became extinct.

Whenever and wherever human beings lose balance, the inevitable consequences are anarchy, cruelty, chaos, bloodshed, carnage and ruin All the Prophets of God preached Justice, i.e. equilibrium, individual as well as collective, in all fields of life. They instructed people to outgrow animality and attain humanity. Man is not all matter. Man is not all soul. Soul and matter go together. Balance has to be maintained. Wherever,in some era and in some society, the great majority of individuals became temperate, society became strong, prosperous, integrated and free. It is only this kind of society which can produce great individuals who in return add glory to their society—sometimes to all mankind. But the hard fact is that temperateness and equilibrium are seldom maintained for a long time. Ease brought about by affluence and nonchalance, resulting from a sense of security, begin to tell. Then the bell tolls. That is the march towards and end. Ups and downs, with short levels in between, be it material or spiritual, construct the story of man in society.

What else history is ? One should not forget that man himself is the author of this sad and gay story, repenting now and taking pride then. He is the author because he is a thinking, analysing and foreseeing existence. He is not like inert matter; he does not belong to the world of plants and animals as such. History asks man to feel his responsibility and be always on the alert. History is among the open books of God. It must be studied in the light of the Book

Taqi al-Din Maqrizi (845/1441) in his renowned book *al-Khitat* writes.

"In short there are two kinds of knowledge, rational and revealed. One should be proficient in both kinds of knowledge, according to one's needs. After that he should get absorbed in the study of history and speculate over the lessons taught by it. He whose heart is open and eyes awake, by the grace of God, gets to know as a reward for his deep thinking the ruinous end of those who prided in their wealth and fighting forces. And so on and so forth."[4]

The same author, in another book *Al-Uqud al-Faridah,* explains.

"God Almighty makes mankind inhabit the world generation after generation, split into tribes. The aim is that the fore-runner should leave behind the lessons to be learnt by those who follow and that they who follow should keep the stories of their for-bears fresh to be related to others so well that the wise refrain from things despised and the well-mannered adopt the agreeable conduct."[5]

Another historian, al-Badr Hussain al-Ahdal, states in the beginning of his book *Tuhfat al-Zaman Fi Ta'rikh-i Sadat-i-Yaman*:

"This [history] is a very useful branch of knowledge. Through it the successors come to know of the circumstances of their progenitors and thus the just stand higher in the estimation of men than the unjust. The reader of history profits by its lessons. He is enabled to evaluate the intellect and wisdom of the former generations. He comes to understand rationale. Had there been no history, mankind would not have been able to know the affairs and conditions of various governments, line-ages, characteristics, causes and events of the preceeding peoples. There could then have been no discrimination between the reasonable and the unreasonable, the foolish and the wise."[6]

Yet another Arab historian, Abu 'Ali Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ya'qub al-Razi Miskawaih, states that when he studied the circumstances and events of foregoing nations, the character of their kings and the description of their cities and when he read the books of history, he realised that he had gained the knowledge of things that occur again and again. Thus the occurrence of like events is expected any time. This is why he wrote his book called *Tajarib al-Umam wa'Awaqib al-Himam*—which is in four volumes.[7] The book deals with the experiences of various nations belonging to the past ages, what they did, desired, deserved and how they met their end.

Through those and other like references it becomes crystal clear that, in the opinion of Muslim historians, history does not mean the history of kings and their kingdoms It is rather the stories of nations which include also. History describes the character and behaviour of different peoples. It records the extent of their intellect, wisdom and other accomplishments. It depicts the phenomena of collective rise and fall of communities. It reports the causes and reasons of the rise and fall that appear again and again. Ibn Khaldun vehemently says: [8]

فالماضي اشبه بالآتي من الماء بالماء

he past is more similar to the present than water is to water]

Ibn Khaldun also defines in the manner the other Muslim historians have done. However, he emphasises that history should be studied with profound contemplation so that truth may be achieved, realities of things may be discerned and one may know the causes behind the creation, evolution and changes that occur in things. According to Ibn Khaldun, the study of history demands depth of knowledge, breadth of vision and clarity of thought which enable one to understand Causes and Effects. Ibn Khaldun asserts

فهو (التاريخ) لذلك اصيل في الحكمة عريق وجدير بان يعد
في علومها وخليق [9]

[Hence it (history) is solidly rooted in philosophy and is quite worthy of being treated as one of its departments]. [8]

Hegel stresses : "Philosophy of history means nothing but the thoughtful consideration of it." [10]

The truth is that with the thoughtful study of the Qur'an a particular worldview takes place giving birth to a particular behaviour. And if we penetrate a bit deeper, the study of the Qur'an brings us to the conclusion that the fountainhead of several sciences and disciplines is the Book itself. History is one of them.

Faqir Sayyid Wahid al-Din narrates :

'When Dr. Iqbal was residing at a bungalow on the MeLeod Road, a new visitor called at him. Stray conversation went on for a while. Then the new visitor put a question to Dr. Iqbal saying, 'You have read books on religon, economics, politics, history, philosophy, etc. Which one of them is the best and most profound in respect of wisdom? Dr. Iqbal stood up from the chair, made a gesture with his hands indicating that he should wait as he would be back in no time So he went in. After two or three minutes

he returned with a book. He put the book into the hands of the uestioner and said 'The Qur'an."[11]

At the moment we are not concerned with other branches of knowledge. We are here to deal with history only. According to Iqbal, the general historic vision of Ibn Khaldun had sprung from the fountainhead of the Qur'an. It goes without saying that Ibn Khaldun is the founder of sociology and is regarded as a pillar of philosophy of history. This is how Iqbal explains :

. . . . .It is, therefore, a gross error to think that the Qur'an has no germs of a historical doctrine The truth is that the whole spirit of Prolegomena of Ibn-i-Khaldun appears to have been mainly due to the inspiration which the author must have received from the Qur'an. Even in his judgements of character he is, in no small degree, indebted to The Qur'an". 12

Almost all Mulsim historians and a great majority of Orientalists are of opinion that the beginning and development of Islamic history has been due to The Holy Qur'an. Iqbal also upholds this veiw. He points out that The Holy Qur'an has established a principle for knowing the facts correctly.

'O believers if any bad man comes to you with a report clear it up at once."[13]

In this regard Iqbal explains :

"Since accuracy in recording facts which constitute the material of history is an indispensable condition of history as a science, and an accurate knowledge of facts ultimately depends on those who report them, the very first principle of historical criticism is that the reporter's personal character is an important factor in judging his testimony." 14

Fasiq means a profligate wicked person, who leads a disorderly life and, therefore, becomes untrustworthy. He who is of a vicious nature must create, concoct and spread scandals. If such a person holds a pen and assumes the role of a recorder of events or of a historian, can he be expected to hold fast to truth and support it? His vicious nature will certainly mar the face of events in order to quench his own thirst for scandal-mongering. Ibn Khaldun is quite aware of this sequel. He refers to a number of scandalous narrations and states thus :

"There are many such stories, They are always cropping up in the works of the historians. The incentive for invention and reporting them shows a tendency to forbidden pleasures and for smearing the reputation of

others. People justify their own sub-servience to pleasure by citing the supposed doings of men and women of the past. Therefore they often appear very eager for such information and are alert to find it when they go through pages of published works." 15

We have already laid down that in Iqbal's opinion the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun appears to have been influenced by "the inspiration which the author received from The Qur'an" 16 It is quite evident that, according to Iqbal, a student of history needs deep knowledge, wide expereience, and mature intellect, because history encompasses the entire life. All theories and practices thereof, crafts and professions, arts and letters, politics, economics, mythologies, religions, physics and metaphysics and what not have a history and hence are to be regarded as history. But of all these multifarious, multi-coloured and multiplex activities, professions and departments, none has profound meaning if taken separately, however high the standard of any performance might be Life is one integrated whole. It is a meaning whicl is always one though it has innumerable shades. Hence no art can be comprehended apart from life. Rather no accomplishment can fully be attained or appreciated without referring to other accomplishments. So it is with history. Without comprehending the comprehensiveness of life, history and its pedigree of evolution cannot be construed. Let us take a crude example, that of an elephant. If the elephant is not kept in view, can the trunk and its functions be fully explained and understood? What does the trunk of the animal stand for, without reference to the comprehensive elephant? Similarly, no philosophic dectrine, political revolution or economic change, treated separately can make us feel its full significance. Iqbal, in respect of a complete history of philosophy, states

"The progress of thought cannot be divorced from other phases of human activity. Our histories of philosophy tell us what various peoples have thought, but they give us no information as to the various causes—social and political—which have determined the character of human thought. To write a complete history of philosophy would certainly be a tremendous task. A mere theologian cannot fully reveal to his readers the rich content of Luther's Reform. We are apt to isolate great ideas from the general stream of man's intellectual activity." 17

In this context, Iqbal's Presidential Address of 11 June 1932 may also be taken into account. It was read out in a public meeting of the Muslims, held outside Mochi Gate, Lahore. The Muslims had gathered to protest against a move put before the Senate of the University of the Punjab in which it was proposed that the Indians should be taught the history of India only and Islamic historv should be excluded from the syllabus. It should

be remembered that the University of the Punjab and its bodies were in those days predominantly Hindu concerns. The proposal was made at the behest of the Hindus, by Professor Bruce, who then was the Chairman of the Department of History. In this regard the strongest argument given by Iqbal was that history had never belonged to any particular group of people, related to a certain area. History in his view belonged to all mankind. For the whole of humanity history was a common heritage. A few lines from hat address are given below·

"History in its totality is a movement of human soul. Human sou has no specific environment. The whole world is its environment . . . . . . To treat it as belonging to a particular nationality is to demonstrate narrow mindedness. I went to Italy and came across a gentleman called Prince Caetani, who was fond of Islamic history. He has written so many books on history and has expended a large wealth in this pursuit. No Muslim country can undertake the task of even getting all this huge material translated. I asked him as to why he was interested so much in Islamic history His answer was that it turned women into men."[18]

The man was an Italian and not one of the inhabitants of Muslim lands nor was he a Muslim that he felt attracted towards Islamic history on account of religious affinity. The reason quite obviously is that history of mankind is a spiritual outcome. It represents all. It teaches all. It is a ommon treasury. Borders are only material impressions. There exist no borders for soul, neither spatial nor temporal. We cannot cut time into pieces. We cannot cut away the past from the present. We, for our convenience, do take into account the serial time and devise years, months, days hours, minutes and seconds and even fractions of seconds, but the Duration is one. It is indivisible. Iqbal vehemently declares :

زمانہ ایک ، حیات ایک ، کائنات بھی ایک
دلیلِ کم نظری ، قصۂ جدید و قدیم[19]

[Time is one, Life is one, the universe is one,
To talk of ancient and modern is but short sightedness.]

For Iqbal life is a continously evolving movement which serves as field of action for man to put his capacities to test and show his worth. The Qur'an says :

"Every man's fate We have fastened on his neck: on the Day of Judgement, We shall bring out for him a scroll, which he will see spread open "[20]

Through this verse God has made it abundantly manifest that the fate of man depends on his deeds, good or evil, and they hang round his neck. Man is the maker of his fortune.

Here I feel tempted to quote some verses of Iqbal from his famous poem *Zamana* (Time) included in *Bal-i-Jibril.* The diction of the poem is superb. It seems to have a celestial music. As to its meanings it is one of the most profound poems, although it consists of only ten verses. Anyway, the following verses have direct bearing on the subject alluded to above:

مری صراحی سے قطرہ قطرہ نئے حوادث ٹپک رہے ہیں
میں اپنی تسبیحِ روز و شب کا شمار کرتا ہوں دانہ دانہ!
ہر ایک سے آشنا ہوں، لیکن جدا جدا رسم و راہ میری
کسی کا راکب، کسی کا مرکب، کسی کو عبرت کا تازیانہ!
نہ تھا اگر تو شریکِ محفل، قصور میرا ہے یا کہ تیرا!
مرا طریقہ نہیں کہ رکھ لوں کسی کی خاطر مئے شبانہ!
مرے خم و پیچ کو نجومی کی آنکھ پہچانتی نہیں ہے
ہدف سے بیگانہ تیر اُس کا نظر نہیں جس کی عارفانہ!

[New realities are trickling from my goblet, drop after drop,
—I tell every bead of my rosary of day and night.
I am everybody's acquaintance but my behaviour with each of them is different,
For some I am the rider, for some others I serve as a means of conveyance (or vehicle) and there are yet others with whom I deal as a whip of warning.
If you did not attend the feast the fault is yours, not mine. It is not my custom to hold back the nocturnal wine for any absentee.
My twists and turns are not discernible to astrologer's eye,
He who does not possess the intuitive eye cannot hit the target with his arrow.]

No doubt, every moment is a creative moment. Things are coming to life. Things are dying out. Every moment the universe is a new universe. Hence no human being can afford to be inert, neither physically nor mentally. One has constantly to be alert, up and doing. Time gives no special consideration and makes no concession to any individual or society Those who capture the spirit of creation and change know what to do,

how to do and when to do. They subjugate Time. Those who are otherwise are subjugated by Time. There are people who learn and conquer. There are people who do not learn and are trampled upon by others. Their affliction serves as a warning to those who follow. Moreover, it is not the knowledge of natural laws alone that leads man to the abode of reality. Development of spiritual faculties is also needed, otherwise our understanding of the world we live in, will not be sound. Ideas will fall and ideals will crumble down to earth before long adding yet another sad chapter to the record book of human failures: caused by stubborn ambitions entertained by immature minds. But what history is otherwise?

Anyway ours is not a universe which is locked or blocked. It is an ever-developing and ever-expanding universe with open possibilities, where everything is in search of its ultimate fate. Man, whom Nature has equipped with material as well as spiritual powers, has also to toil constantly, consciously and wilfully to maintain his dominance over the forces of Nature If he slackens, he falters. For him to rest is to rust. Islamic thought and especially Muslim view of history is replete with this very spirit. Iqbal explains this fact as under:

"Thus all lines of Muslim thought converge on a dynamic conception of the universe. This view is further reinforced by Ibn-i-Maskawaih's theory of life as an evolutionary movement, and *Ibne-i-Khaldun's view of history* History or, in the language of the Qur'an, the days of God, is the third source of human knowledge according to the Qur'an. It is one of the most essential teachings of the Qur'an that nations are collectively judged, and suffer for their misdeeds here and now."[21]

After quoting the following verse of the Qur'an: "Every nation has its fixed period" (vii. 32), Iqbal stresses that the verse "suggests the possibility of a scientific treatment of the life of human societies regarded as organisms"[22] Now life regarded as an organism means that nations are connected with previous nations as one generation is to its predecessor and successor generations. This shows that history is a continuous movement towards progress, a movement which cannot be divided intp past, present and future. Time-process has no compartments. The seed is present in the tree A baby growing into boyhood is really the same baby as he was born. When the boy became a full-grown human being, the baby and boy were there within him, living. Then the organism began to decline into old age, being reduced to a mere skeleton. Still it was the same person. Similar is the position of societies, nations, rather humanity at large.

It is already quite apparent that by history we mean the history of man in society. If human beings are not there the world is void. All sensi-

bilities end. Every sort of perception or intuition is extinct. It means there would be no self-consciousness, no knowldege, neither qualities nor quantities, neither attributes nor tributes. What a world where there is no colour! Where there is no grace. Where there is no perfume. Moreover, where there is neither pleasure nor grief nor victory nor defeat. Still further where there is no notion of good and evil. Without man the universe is deaf and dumb and blind. Meanings lose all meaning. Says Maulana Rumi, in one of the opening verse of his *Mathnawi* :

عالم از ما ہست شد نے ما ازو

بادہ از ما مست شد نے ما ازو .

[The world came to exist through us and not we through it,

Wine became intoxicated through us and not we through it.]

In other words, we may say that man is the measure for all things (not the measure of all things). He is the critic, the analyst, the judge, the umpire, and the guardian examiner. It is he who lauds. It is he who denounces. All worlds from atoms to celestial spheres, all beginnings and ends, all tastes and colours, all relations and proportions, in short, the whole world of perception and ideas is in reality the world of man. Man is the meaning and all other created existences are absurdities if man is not there. Iqbal addresses God and lays bare the pride of man in humble words:

قصوروار، غریب الدیار ہوں لیکن

23 ترا خرابہ فرشتے نہ کر سکے آباد

[I am guilty, I am alien,
Yet this desolate world of yours could not be inhabited and cultivated by your angels.]

A to another occasion Iqbal repeats this same theme:

24 نمی بینی کہ ما خاکی نہاداں

چہ خوش آراستیم ایں خاکداں را

[Do not you see that we clay-born things,
How pleasingly have decorated your Earth!]

It is all man's toil, his sweat and blood, which has made the world colourful, graceful and musical. Yet all done is just a tiny speck of brilliance

in relation to the universe. The worlds and heavens, trillions into trillions in number, are yet to be explored. Every breath taken consciously brings man face to face with awfully immeasurable challenges. To know and to conquer is man's perpetual enterprise. It is all man's mandfold histroy And it is all in Time

The Qur'an says "And teach them to remember the days of God,"25 and "Such days (of varying fortunes) We give to men and men by turns."26

Both the above-quoted verses relate to human beings. In brief, Time the touchstone of human performances wheteher they were pure or dross. Thus to them who are blessed with vision, history shows how to live. To them history is a record of the manifestation of human capabilities. Simultaneously it is a "whip of warning". So that man's endeavours continue to make him better every moment. If Time is not taken as a vital reality, then Iqbal's whole philosophy loses its very basis. Self-consciousness, self-preservation, self-fulfilment, in other words full realization of man as such cannot be apprehended in a universe which is not ever-growing. An inert world is a senseless concept. It must move on, it must progress and evolve. It's not even to slow down. And its rest is its end. Similarly, man in this world—a restless world—cannot rest. In rest lies his death. Iqbal says:

همه سوزِ ناتمامم، همه دردِ آرزویم
27 بگمان دهم یقین را که شهیدِ جستجویم

[The whole of me is burning and it has not burnt out, the whole of me is a series of pangs of unfulfilled desires.
I turn certainty into uncertainty because I am madly devoted to search and inquiry (and it should never come to an end)].

It has been stated in the beginning, in relation to Maqrizi, Ahdal and Ibn Khaldun that the stories of the past related by the Qur'an are not just a stock for amusement. It is rather a school where the call *fa'tabiru*, i.e. "learn from the plight of former generations" keeps resounding perpetually. Like the great majority of Muslim historians, Iqbal too is of opinion that history is not simply a collection of amusing anecdotes, stories or tales. He very artfully and yet in plain words tells what history stands for:

چیست تاریخ اے زخود بیگانۂ
داستانے، قصۂ، افسانۂ؟

این ترا از خویشتن آگہ کند
آشنائے کار و مردِ رہ کند
ہمچو خنجر بر فسانت می زند
باز بر روئے جہانت می زند

شمع او بختِ اُمم را کوکب است
روشن از وے امشب و ہم دیشب است
چشمِ پرکارے کہ بیند رفتہ را
پیشِ تو باز آفریند رفتہ را

سرزند از ماضئ تو حالِ تو
خیزد از حالِ تو استقبالِ تو
مشکن ار خواہی حیاتِ لازوال
رشتۂ ماضی ز استقبال و حال [28]

[Do you know what is history? But you do not know even your own self. Do you think it is just a story, a tale or a romance?
Instead, it makes you know yourself. It makes you know your purpose and then sets you to the path (of achievement).
It sharpens you as a dagger on the whetting-stone and you against the world. . . . .
Its candle is like fortune-star of nations which illumines th[illegible] and the past night.
It is an eye well trained. It reads the past, recreates it, and puts i[illegible] before you. . . . . .
Your past bursts forth into the present and from your present your future is born.
If you desire to live a life everlasting then do not cut as–under your past from your present and future.]

The Qur'an has instructed human beings repeatedly to get acquainted with the affairs of former generations. They should explore the world and see how the ancestor nations and societies became exterminated although

they were very strong in every respect. They had huge man-power and unlimited wealth. Nothing could save them from ruin. The Qur'an emphasises of and on that lessons should be learnt from history which is an open book containing guidance as well as warning. Good things of the past should be upheld and imbided, bad ones are to be avoided. This shows history lives in us as a vital force. Therefore, we must always keep in mind factors which gave strength to individuals and societies in the past and also the factors which brought about their doom Hence the concept of history with Sematic races, i.e. the inheritors of revealed books, was different from those who had none. For example, the Greek mind had been dominated by the idea of requency and recurrence of events, while the Semitic religious thought held that events were immediate non recurrent and unique and this fac introduced dynamism to historical movement.[29]

B.A. Dar proceeds further with this idea an. explaining Iqbal' view of history, lays down

"History as thus considered is both creative and conservative and the historical process would be incomplete with either. The conservative element means a tie with the spiritual tradition and an acceptance of the sacred heritage of the past. But it also demands a dynamic-creative element, a creative purpose, an urge towards fulfilmet."[30]

One thing is of great import. It is that for Iqbal, as for almost all the Muslim historians, history is not essentially the history of kings, courts and caliphs. Iqbal, as is the Qur'anic way, always deals with communities, races, groups and societies—kings no doubt included. Kings, kingliness and kingdom is just one department of the comprehensive life of society. That department is administrative-cum-political. Surely this department is of utmost importance. Yet the difference between the collective life of communities and kings is made adequately manifest in the following quatrain :

سکندر رفت و شمشیر و علم رفت
خراجِ شهر و گنجِ کان و یم رفت
امم را از شهان پاینده تر دان
نمی بینی که ایران ماند و جم رفت[31]

[Went away Alexander and with him his sword, his banner, and all sorts of tributes that came from cities, his treasures (of pearls and rubies) brought from mines and seas.
Know that communities are much more lasting than the kings :
Do you not see that Iranian nation is there while Jamshid is no more]

ʼet the influence of lords, chiefs, dignitaries and families that wield power and also individuals and groups possessing vast riches is great because they are imitated by oth who are less fortunate. People bereft of character, education and self-confidence are sheer imitative animals. Hence the responsibility of the 'Biggies" is commensurate with the extent of their influence. They influence the society they are related to, according to their importance. This is what the famous Arabic saying connotes

الناس على دين ملوكهم,

[People follow the ways of their kings].

This imitation, ight from the uppermost circles ociety comes down step by step to the lowest one. This is why the Holy Prophet enjoined upon every individual, man and woman, to feel his and her responsibility o their juniors in age and station :

كلكم راع وكلكم مسئول عن رعيته 32

[Every one of you is a herdsman (guardian and hence accountable for his charge].

And higher the station, the greater the accountability. According to the Qur'an, evil-doing spreads in a society much more easily through the wealthy and affluent individuals than through any other mode. This is why whenever a certain society met its ruinous plight, it could be taken for granted that the well-to-do members of it had surely fallen into bad ways. They were followed by others. Gradually the whole social body became a moral wreck. Then they heard the call. Their time was up.

"(And) when We decide to destroy a population, We (first) send a definite order to those among them who are given the good things of this life, and yet transgress; so that the word is proved true against them· then it is that We destroy them utterly."33

Interpreting the above verse says Abdullah Yusuf Ali·

"Those who are highly gifted from God—it may be with wealth or position, or it may be with talents and opportunities—are expected to understand and obey. They are given a definite order and warning. If they still transgress there is no further room for argument. They cannot plead that they were ignorant. The command of the Lord is proved against them, and its application is called for beyond doubt Then it is that their punishment is completed."34

As already quoted, Iqbal believes that one of the most essential

teachings of the Qur'an is that nations are collectively judged and suffer for their misdeeds here and now. The Qur'an emphasizes the fact that whenever the majority of the members of a society fall into evil ways, the nation is deemed fit for punishment. Then it is given no time. If good individuals form the majority and those who are bad are in minority, then a society is treated to be a healthy society and it can pull on. But the position is reversed when the society is to be taken for a diseased body which without timely and proper treatment may give way and expire Individual evil-doers are also not let off. They along with the majorit receive punishment here, but the punishment in the next world is fa severer and longer. Says Iqbal :

فطرت افراد سے اغماض بھی کر لیتی ہے
کبھی کرتی نہیں ملت کے گناہوں کو معاف[35]

[Nature may at times ignore individual misdeeds, but the collectiv misdeeds of a community are never ignored or forgiven.]

Individual laxity is like a negligible defect in a body otherwise healthy and stout. The body can put up with it, but when ills become strong and rule over the body, the body crumbles. Similarly, a small number of ill-meaning and evil-doing persons can be, though with reservation and reluctance, tolerated, but when evil gets hold of society due to overwhelming numbers, then there can be no remedy. The result is death. This death, i.e. collective punishment, takes place in the shape of epidemics, earthquakes, droughts, excessive rains, floods, famines, foreign invasions, civil wars and, worst of all, slavery. Slavery is collective death in life because the slave societies are like breathing dead bodies. The fact needs no amplification.

After all what do we mean by evil? In plain words, it is the surrender of a man's soul to his animal self. It is a constant tussle between the soul and the body of a human being, one trying to subjugate the other. Sometimes the values pull up, sometimes the material considerations of pomp and pleasures transgress limits and drag down. Now a certain person enjoys the thrill of soaring high and then the same one is seen stooping down to carnal ferociousness. Now he thanks and then repents. but this process of thanks and repentance concerns only those whose spiritual death has not yet occurred. It is obvious that the complete subjugation of material self by the spiritual self is almost impossible while the contrary is not impossible We know, people become so much reconciled to their animal level of existence that they seem no more capable of understanding what humanity denotes. According to Bergson, to become a human being an individual has to outgrow his animality In his words: "Evolution is the effort of

life to free itself of the domination of matter."36 Similarly, Iqbal says in respect of a disciplined and principled life achievable through the observance of Din:

چیست دیں برخاستن از روے خاک
تا زخود آگاہ گردد جان پاک[37]

[What is Din, it is to outgrow the earthliness (earth-rootedness)
so that soul achieves self-consciousness.]

Soul's journey upward is slow and difficult. But the downward movement is alway much easier as if automatic, because it is pro-earth. Relation of the body with earth is immediate. Hence always far stronger then the upward. But soul, as long as the complete surrender to matter does not take place, tries somehow to defend the body's individual existence and tries to protect it from mass matter (the earth) which is always after it to make it an easy morsel. Strife is life. Surrender is tantamount to death. Says Shelley:

First our pleasures die and then
Our hopes and then our fears and when
These are gone, the debt is due,
Dust claims dust and we die too."

It means wherever a society's demise occurs it occurs on account of the surrender of soul to matter. Societies rise trying to be human. Societies fall when recouncilled to animality. Dominance of soul can be illustrated as Prophet Sulaiman who, with all his wealth and possessions, soared high in the air while the dominance of matter can be characterised as Qarun (Korah) whose treasures dragged him down into deep dark abyss leaving no trace behind. In respect of wealth to "possess" it is spiritual. To be possessed by it is material. One state makes the master, the other slave

For Iqbal, the whole history of mankind is a sort of perpetual strife between soul and matter. Islam for him symbolises all that is good for man and that good is the soul-dominion. To reconstruct Muslim societies, in Iqbal's view, is to enliven the soul, is to strengthen belief in God, the Fountain-head of all soul atoms. That would mean to put the flow of history in Islamic spheres again on the right track. This view was a gift of God to him through the discerning study of the Qur'an. The Qur'an being the mirror of the past, the present and the future is the best warner as well as the most reliable source of hope

The concluding paragraph is the translation of Iqbal's speech delivered at Muslim University Aligarh in 1929.[38] It is helpful in respect of under standing as to how Iqbal's view of history was shaped and to what exten it was impressed by the Qur'an. And here it is :

'Another subject, which I want to emphasize, concerns the discovery of our past. I am not one of those who love their past only, rather I have faith in the future. I need the past in order to understand the present. It is the need of the day that we should have an understanding of the main spring of culture and civilization so that we may comprehend the signifi cance of the events taking place in the world of Islam today. It is for the same reason that I exhort you to know your past. As we are unaware of the principles of modern civilization and culture, we are lagging behind the other nations in the acquisition of modern knowledge. I want you to consider and observe those lost links which relate our past to our future One such link is the inductive method which has been applied to modern sciences. It is a blessing bestowed on the world (of man) by the Holy Qur'an. The results and fruits of the inductive method are quite apparent today. I have been diligently studying the Holy Qur'an for the last twenty years. I recite its verses every day, but I cannot claim that I have understood even a few of its chapters. If God grants me time and courage, I shall, one day, write a comprehensive history to point out how the modern world has reached its present stage by developing the ideals of life set forth in the Holy Book. I hope that the university will produce a group of people who will dedicate their lives to the study of the Holy Qur'an. I wish that you should collaborate with me. For the last several years I have been the owner of my body only but my soul has always remained in your service and as long as I live it shall continue to serve you."

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IQBAL ON LIFE AFTER DEATH

Death is the only birth right which can be denied to none. There is no age limit to qualify for death. One may die soon after one's birth. Some have to await death for long. But come it must. No escape and no proxy in death. Left to himself every human being wants to live on and does not like to be deprived of life consciousness. Loss of the feeling of existence is simply abhorrent. Yes, but man does on occasions set himself against life. Such occasions make death look more enlivening than life itself.One does lay down one's life for some high ideal, some great cause, some sacred mission and so on. This is sacrifice. This is life in death, a joyful apprehension of eternity. On the other hand there are occassons when a man out of disgust is impelled to finish himself. This is suicide. But out of four billion people who crowd the stage of the earth what is the percentage of those who commit suicide or who fall martyrs to lofty ideals? Certainly very low. Normally people die natural death.

Even an animal feels the pleasure of being alive and when it finds its life in peril it shrieks, trembles and moans. How dear life is! Who knows whether animals can be so death-conscious as human beings are. And surely death reminds itself to human beings so many times during a single day. Death is a haunting reality and still it is Man who being so much death conscious loves life so much. He laughs back to death. The imminence of death imbibes in man the idea of making hay while the sun shines. This idea is beautifully expressed in the following verse by Mirza Ghalib, one of the most celebrated poets of Urdu language.

ہوس کو ہے نشاطِ کار کیا کیا
نہ ہو مرنا تو جینے کا مزا کیا

(Without death life would have been a dull afair. It is death that makes desires work efficiently).

Contrarily sometimes death-visions create dismal forebodings by bringing into relief the futility of human life, as is expressed by a Persian poet.

نسب نامۂ خسرو کیقباد ورق تا ورق چارسو برد باد

(The wind blew away to the four corners of the world the pages of the dynastic history of the Emperor Kiaqubad).

Emprerors die and the ruling dynasties vanish. Why then to labour, toil and fight for glory when every thing in the end is reduced to dust by "death the leveller".

There is yet another way to appreciate the phenomena of death and that is the humanization of human beings as is aptly said by Zauq, another poet of Urdu language.

موت نے کر دیا مجبور وگرنہ انسان !
ہے وہ خود بیں کہ خدا کا بھی نہ قائل ہوتا

(It is death that has compelled man to bow before God, otherwise he was far self-conceited to do so.)

Any way death is there. It has to be faced. But still the concept of total mortality is not acceptable altogether. Man desires to prolong, as much as possible, his span of life in this world, if not physically then at least spiritually. He wishes to do something to be sure that his name does not come to an end with the end of his bodily existence. He conquers, he builds, he makes discoveries, he paints, he composes verses and he sings, for the sake of his name and fame. He must achieve and accomplish something that would defy his total mortality. If nothing else could be performed at least children were to be left behind to carry his name down to coming ages as far long as possible—no doubt this craving for life after death is a great thing in many respects and in all respects it helps to make life more meaningful. If total extinction had been the belief of humanity at large life, here would have lost almost all of its charm and would have become a sheer absurdity. There are people who are existentially haunted by the "absurdity" of life but thanks God, their number is negligible and they make no noteworthy impact beyond some intellectualistic close circles.

I have before me the arabic version of a book by J.H. Breasted "DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION AND THOUGHT IN ANCIENT EGYPT". The author says with a note of stress. "In modern and ancient societies has attached so much importance to life beyond the grave as the ancient Egyptians did"(1)—The second chapter of this book which pertains to life after death and man's sojourn in his grave is very interesting. Breasted relates ruminatively his adventures during his reserach through the ancient necropolises and says that the mummified figures of five thousand years ago are quite fresh even today. The Egyptians used to bury with the dead

his valuables as well as a reasonable quantum of his favourable food. In the tombs of some of the kings even their favourite servants and concubines were also imprisoned alive to save the king from the boredom of loneliness after he got up in his grave. The kings got the graves built in the shape of pyramids in their life time and under their own supervision, and contented themselves with the feeling that the treavres buried alongwith them would defy encroachment on the part of their enemies and that other kings would not be able to assail them by coming out of their graves. In this regard "The History of Mummification in Egypt" by Professor J.E. Eliot published in 1910 by the Royal Philosophical Society, Glasgow, offers a very useful and interesting study.

The Hindus burnt their dead. They do not believe that the soul is in need of any particular body. Hence they do not bury the dead. As is obvious they do not attach much importance to the body, therefore they do not believe in the resurrection of the body. But they believe and vehemently so in the immortality of soul, although their faith is that sin-stained souls remain deprived of heavenly grace. These wretched souls go on hovering under the canopy of heaven, assuming different bodily shapes till their redemption. Buddhism brought this concept to its logical consummation invalidating its expiability, without its association with another body—expiation entails action and a soul without a body cannot redeem itself. Hence the concept of the transmigration of souls. Before 600 B.C. all the Hindu societies did not subscribe to the concept of the transmigration of souls, though some Hindu asceties did believe in it. Obviously the Hindu societies, by and by, accepted this belief under the impact of Baddhism which flourished in India as the religion of the ruling dynasties for about a thousand years. Despite the extinction of Buddhism in India some of the later philosophers such as Shankar Acharya and Ramanuj subscribed to the transmigratory cycle of souls as usual. Dr. Radha Krishnan's "The Vedanta" and "Indian Philosophy" published by George Allen and Unwin, London are very helpful readings in this regard Encyclopaedia Britannica in its article captioned "Hinduism", reinforces the view that the prevalent concept of "the transmigration" among the Hindus is a consequence of the impact of Buddhism.

One of the basic beliefs in Islam is the verity of "Life-hereafter Man is accountable to God for his actions. Hence his resurrection. Then he is rewarded or punished according to his desert. Therefore he must live on to enjoy the boons bestowed on him by God or to suffer the punishment awarded to him. It simply means that man does not perish with death. But no traveller to the valleys of death comes back to tell what happens during the immeasurably long period between death and resurrection. There are on record the statements of thousands of people, young and old

of both the sexes to whom the states of the dead were revealed in dreams. On occasions the dead have foretold the impending occurrences to their dear ones. Some have come to inform them of the deterioration of their graves and demand alleviation of their distress. At times we are told that a tete-a-tete took place between a living person and a person who dies centuries ago—In this regard innumarable saints and holymen who were known for their truthfulness have recorded thousands of anecdotes in their chronicles. One need not oneself to a belabonring research in this respect One may study *Kitab ur-Rooh* (The book of the Soul) by Ibn-e-Qayyim (may God bless him) especially its second and third chapter.Similarl the *Karamat-ul-Auliya* (Miracles of the Saints) by Yousaf-bin-Ismail Al-Nabhani is an encyclopaedic work relating to this subject. The book contains hundreds of anecdotes relating to the dead, who died long long ago, coming to people in dreams and even in waking to impart some important piece of advice or information. This book contains the name of many other books and their authors who directly or indirectly have written on this subject. In Urdu language also there are many books on this or relating topics, the most recent being. M. Aslam's *Maut ke Bad* (After Death). The book has been published from Lahore and deserves attention Mr.M. Aslam has immensely drawn on European, American and Indian philosophers and psychologists. He has shown that modern scholars in philosophy and psychology have brought to bear their insight on the delicate questions of life hereafter in the light of most recent scientific know how. M. Aslam maintains that they are gradually being led on to the belief in the immortality of soul.

Bain ul-Alamain (Between Two Worlds) by Mustafa al-Kik published in Cairo by *Dar-al-Maarif* in 1965, is a brief but interesting book on this subject. Desmond Shaw's "How You Live When You Die" and "You Can Speak With Your Dead" must be very imformative as is obvious from their titles. I have seen some excerpts from these two books in *Bain ul-Alamain* Whatever it may be, science is also bringing the Psychical world under its close study under the name of para psychology, C.D. Board in his celebrated work "The Mind and its Place in Nature" has discussed the immortality of soul discerningly, in eleventh and twelfth chapters. But for their long discursive logic his observations are noteworthy. His analytical proclivities do not betray his insistance on the denial of the immortality of soul though he wants to accept it only in the light of scientific arguments. Hence he concludes his introductory note to its Section D, as follows:

> "I may say at once, that my own view is that, if human survival can be rendered probable at all, this can be done only by empirical arguments based on the phenomena which are treated by psychical research."

Muhammad Iqbal is the poet of life and the philosopher of immortality. He has, alike in his philosophic discussions and poetical arguments, upheld the concept of immortality. His works are permeated by the vital concept of man's immortality from the beginning of his musings to the last. Of course, questions about the nature and life in the next world remain a permanent soul-irritant for him. He wants to know the state and conditions of individuals and societies there. Is the next world different from this one and in what respect? Do we have the problems of blood and other relationships there also? Have we to work hard to earn our livelihood in paradise too? Do people fall in love and bear the pangs of distractions? Do we have robbers and moon-shiners in that heavenly abode as well? Do people have answers to their queries dished out to them or they are kept perplexed there also as they are kept here? These and many other similar questions arise in the mind of anyone who believes in the life hereafter. But everybody cannot express these irritating questions in singing words. Iqbal the philosopher and poet was surely capable of doing it. In the first section of *Bang-i-Dara* (بانگ درا) is a poem *Khuftagane Khqk Se Istifsar* (خفتگان خاک سے استفسار). Iqbal through this poem has put these and similar questions in lyrical fashion to those dead and buried long ago. Iqbal has given beautiful form and substance to metaphysical subtleties in absorbing verse like the following:

آدمی واں بھی حصارِ غم میں ہے محصور کیا
اس ولایت میں بھی ہے انساں کا دل مجبور کیا

رشتہ و پیوند یاں کے جان کا آزار ہیں!
اس گلستاں میں بھی کیا ایسے نکیلے خار ہیں!
اس جہاں میں اک معیشت اور سو افتاد ہے
روح کیا اس دیس میں اس فکر سے آزاد ہے
کیا وہاں بجلی بھی ہے دہقاں بھی ہے خرمن بھی ہے
قافلے والے بھی ہیں اندیشۂ رہزن بھی ہے!
باغ ہے فردوس یا اک منزلِ آرام ہے
یا رخِ بے پردۂ حسنِ ازل کا نام ہے
کیا جہنم معصیت سوزی کی اک ترکیب ہے
آگ کے شعلوں میں پنہاں مقصدِ تادیب ہے

جستجو میں ہے وہاں بھی روح کو آرام کیا
واں بھی انساں ہے قتیلِ ذوقِ استفہام کیا
تم بتا دو راز جو اس گنبدِ گرداں میں ہے!
موت اک چبھتا ہوا کانٹا دلِ انساں میں ہے

1) Is the man besieged by worries in that territory too? And is his heart under compulsion there also?

2) Here we have relations and connections which scathe souls, do these prickly thorns grow in that garden also.

(3) Here there is one livelihood and so many heavy demands on it, would the soul be free from this sort of worry in that territory?

(4) Does that world also have the lightning the tiller and the heap of grain. Do people travel in caravans there also and are they too afraid of robbers?

(5) Is paradise of garden or just a place for rest or is it the name of Divine Beauty to be seen uncovered?

(6) Is hell only a device to burn down sins and is the hidden purpose of the flames of fire nothing but to correct?

(7) Does soul fell pleased in search and enquiry there too— Does man die for the taste of inquiry there as well?

Please disclose to me the mystery of the revolving firmament (on account of which death takes place). Death is a thorn pricking into the heart of man.

What will happen after death, agitates Iqbal's mind constantly and all his abstruse questionings point towards his belief in the life hereafter. It is very surely obvious that the belief in total extinction of man does not lead to such questionings. All this anxious fondness to know the distress, the dread, the worry and the horror of something after death are offshoots of the belief in the continuity of life after death.

Socrates is Plato's mouthpiece in expressing this dread of something after death in his "Dialogues". For example, in his "Apology" we come acorss the idea that "death is one of two things. Either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and

migration of soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose there is no consciousness but a sleep of him who is undisturbed even by dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain.... Now if death be of such a nature, I say that to die is gain; for eternity is then only a single night. But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the deeds abide, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? If indeed when the pilgrim arrives in the world below he is delivered from the professors of justice in this world, and finds the true judges who are said to give judgement there, Midos and Rhadamanthus and Aeacus and Triptolemus . . . what would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Musaeus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay if this be true, let me die again and again . in another world they do not put a man to death for asking questions: assuredly not. For besides being happier than we are thee we are, they will be immortal, if what is said is true."[2]

The query: "Is there any life after death?" changes into a belief in the immortality of soul as is also evidenced in another dialogue "Phaedo'

Returning to Iqbal and his questionings about the immortality of man we come to another poem *Kinar-i-Ravi* (کنارِ راوی) in the same section of *Bang-i-Dara. Kinar-i-Ravi* presents an eloquent and captivating inter pretation of the concept of continuity of life. The quiet evening, river bank quiver of the setting sun, passing-by of the speedy day-caravan, the tomb of Emperor Jahangir close by—and its minarets—impelled the poet to compose:

فسانۂ ستمِ روزگار ہے یہ محل!
کوئی زمانِ سلف کی کتاب ہے یہ محل!

"This place is like a story of the high-handedness of time.
This place is like a book on the past."

In other words, the prospect induces the poet to see beyond our sphere. But we see that in this poem the word revolution or change has been employed and not annihilation or mortality. Then the subject changes and despondency turns into a hopeful mirth. Now we see the following verses:

رواں ہے سینۂ دریا پہ اک سفینۂ تیز
ہوا ہے موج سے ملاح جس کا گرمِ ستیز
سبک روی میں ہے مثلِ نگاہ یہ کشتی
نکل کے حلقۂ حدِ نظر سے دور گئی

جہازِ زندگیٔ آدمی رواں ہے یونہیں!
ابد کے بحر میں پیدا یونہیں نہاں ہے یونہیں
شکست سے یہ کبھی آشنا نہیں ہوتا
نظر سے چھپتا ہے لیکن فنا نہیں ہوتا

(1) A boat is moving fast on the breast of the river. The boatman is fighting vigorously against the current.

(2) The boat is fast like the glance and it has disappeared from sight.

(3) The ship of man's life is drifting alike in the ocean of eternit now visible and now invisible.

(4) Never does it accpet defeat. It does hide itself but it does not become extinct.

Iqbal has likened the continuity of life to an ever-rolling stream, flowing out of sight and retracing to the same origin which is eternal and everlasting. This stream may divide itself into tiny drops but the drops will rejoin and again flow into the stream. It is true of mankind also. Animated by the same Breath, various in forms and colours, human beings enjoy a sense of unity—they lament when they separate despite the fact that they part to meet. However, it is natural that separation should perturb them. This theme has been brought home to us in the third section of *Bang-i-Dara*, in his poem captioned *Falsafa-i-Ghamm* (Philosophy of Sorrow). No harm in putting down some verses.

آتی ہے ندی جبینِ کوہ سے گاتی ہوئی
آسماں کے طائروں کو نغمہ سکھلاتی ہوئی
آئینہ روشن ہے اس کا صورتِ رخسارِ حور
گر کے وادی کی چٹانوں پر یہ ہو جاتا ہے چور
نہر جو تھی اس کے گوہر پیارے پیارے بن گئے!
یعنی اس افتاد سے پانی کے تارے بن گئے
جوئے سیمابِ رواں پھٹ کر پریشاں ہو گئی!
مضطرب بوندوں کی اک دنیا نمایاں ہو گئی

ہجران قطروں کو لیکن وصل کی تعلیم ہے
دو قدم پر پھر وہی جو مثلِ تارِ سیم ہے
ایک اصلیت میں ہے نہرِ روانِ زندگی
گر کے رفعت سے، ہجومِ نوعِ انساں بن گئی
پستیِ عالم میں ملنے کو جدا ہوتے ہیں ہم
عارضی فرقت کو دائم جان کر روتے ہیں ہم

(1) The stream flows down from the mountain top. It come singing so beautifully as if teaching the art of singing to celestia birds (or the birds flying in the sky).

(2) The mirror of the stream is bright like the cheek of a fairy This mirror falls upon the stones of the valley and shatters into pieces.

(3) The current turned into beautiful and endearing pearls, in other words this fall of water assumed the shape of stars.

(4) The brook of flowing quick-silver was disrupted and scattered and a phenomenon of restless drops appeared.

(5) But this separation teaches the drops how to meet. Therefore just after a space the drops rejoin and become a tiny brook which looks like a sliver-thread.

(6) The fast rolling stream of life has the same Reality as its fountainhead. It falls from heights and scatters into a multitude of human being

(7) We separate in the lower chambers of the universe to meet again. But we take the temporary separation for permanent one and we bewail.

Khuftagan-i-Khak se Istifsar and *Kinar-i-Ravi* belong to the first section of *Bang-i-Dara* and this part contains peoms composed till 1905 when Iqbal was hardly thirty. *Falsafa-i-Ghamm*, belongs to the third section of *Bang-i-Dara* which contains his peoms written from 1908 to 1923, covering a creative period of fifteen or sixteen years. This is a condolatory poem composed on the death of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's father. But Iqbal has made it a universal dirge on death. Through this elegy Iqbal

has brought home to every bereaved person his philosophy of death which makes manifest that:

مرنے والے مرتے ہیں لیکن فنا ہوتے نہیں
یہ حقیقت میں کبھی ہم سے جدا ہوتے نہیں

Those who die never become extinct and in reality they never separate from us."

It means the dead depart yet they do not part from us. In his *Kinar-i-Ravi* he had already stressed that "man does never accept defeat. He disappears from sight but does not perish at all. The vital element of life is indefeatable and immortal." Iqbal's belief in immortality is very deeprooted and unshakable. One can say that in *Khuftagan-i-Khak* and *Kinar-i-Ravi,* an abstract principle has been upheld while sympathetic and condolatory tone running through *Falsafa-i-Ghamm,* etc., is based on the same principle simply because the dead was someone else's father.But the case is quite different. His belief in immortality did not waver even on the death on his own mother. He feels the death of his mother intensely like every other person who perceives blessings and kindness in the person of his mother and wants to fondle in the arms of his mother like an infant. *Walida-i-Marhuma Ki Yad Main* (والدۂ مرحومہ کی یاد میں) is one of the most important poems in the third section of *Bang-i-Dara.* In this poem Iqbal transmuted the pungs of separation and sense of deprivation peculiar to human nature into a big hope. He has explained that resurrection is germane to human body, upholding the principle of resurrection. There is no annihilation because resurrection is akin to human device to grow up like a seed that must sprout forth and clay dare not retard its growth. Resurrection is inescapable; it must take place. Iqbal says:

تخمِ گُل کی آنکھ زیرِ خاک بھی بے خواب ہے
کس قدر نشوونما کے واسطے بے تاب ہے
زندگی کا شعلہ اس دانے میں جو مستور ہے
خودنمائی ، خودفزائی کے لئے مجبور ہے
سردیٔ مرقد سے بھی افسردہ ہو سکتا نہیں
خاک میں دب کر بھی اپنا سوز کھو سکتا نہیں

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ہے لحد اس قوتِ آشفتہ کی شیرازہ بند
ڈالتی ہے گردنِ گردوں میں جو اپنی کمند
موت تجدیدِ مذاقِ زندگی کا نام ہے
خواب کے پردے میں بیداری کا اک پیغام ہے!

(1) The eye of flower-seed keeps awake even under the earth. How anxious it is to grow and to flourish!

(2) The flame of life which is hidden in this grain is obliged to exhibit itself and grow.

(3) It cannot wither even in the coldness of grave. It cannot lose its warmth even when buried under the earth.

(4) Death is the binding element of this ruffled force (man) that subjugate even the high heavens.

(5) Death means the rejuvenation of the taste for life. Under the cover of sleep it is a message of wakefulness.

This motif is not only interpretative of human heart that scintillates with a hard gemlike flame in this poem, but is also pervasive through Iqbal's philosophical prose despite the fact that in prose it is less impressive because here it is bereft of its poetic mould. Philosophy waylays our mind and intellect, while poetry seduces our heart and feelings. Iqbal has discussed this resurgence of life in his lecture, "The Human Ego—its Freedom and Immortality," and says:

"The resurrection, therefore, is not an external event. It is the consummation of a life process within the ego. Whether individual or universal it is nothing more than a kind of a stock-taking of the ego's past achievements and his future possibilities. The Quran artues the phenomenon of re-emergence of the ego on the analogy of his first emergence."[3]

ويقول الانسان أ اذا امتّ لسوف اخرج حيّاً۔ اولا يذكر الانسان
انّا خلقناه من قبل ولم يكُ شيئاً۔ [4]

" 'Man saith: What ! After I am dead, shall I in the end be brought forth alive ?" Doth not "Man bear in mind that We made him at first when he was nought ? (19 : 67-68)

ونحن قدّرنا بینکم الموت وما نحن بمسبوقین علیٰ ان
نبدّل امثالکم وننشئکم فی مالا تعلمون۔ ولقد علمتم
النشاۃ الاولیٰ فلو لا تذکّرون۔[5]

"It is We who have decreed that deati be among you.
'Yet We are not thereby hindered from replacing you with others your likes or from producing you in a form which ye know not. Ye have known the first creation: will you not reflect ?' (56 : 60-2)"

What Iqbal has brought home to us poetically through the similies of boat, sailor, stream, scattered water-drops and the flower-seed, he has philosophically explained and reinforced it by the teachings of the Holy Qur'an. Or we can say that this philosophy is an outcome of the study of the Holy Qur'an. Anyhow it is self-evident that Iqbal believes in the life hereafter. Like a seed of flower assimilating its latent energies to re-emerge, human ego does remain active to renew itself, even in the state of *Barzakh*. It is busy in passing through consummative process as already cited above; it is nothing more than a kind of stock-taking of the ego's past achievements and his future possibilities. So according to Iqbal a hundred year old dead body makes a query addressing the grave:

کیا شے ہے، کس امروز کا فردا ہے قیامت؟
اے میرے شبستانِ کہن! کیا ہے قیامت؟

"What is it—and of which today is this the morrow. Tell me, O my old abode, what is resurrection ?"

The grave replies:

اے مردۂ صد سالہ! تجھے کیا نہیں معلوم؟
ہر موت کا پوشیدہ تقاضا ہے قیامت!

"O you a hundred year old corpse, perhaps you do not know that the hidden claim of every death is resurrection."

According to Iqbal, the state of *Barzakh* should be looked upon as one of expectation and interval between death and resurrection. And if this expectation is linked with the stock-taking of the ego's past achievements, it becomes clear that the stream of consciousness running through

a soul does persist. In other words, we can say that continuity of life remains intact. Of course, as Iqbal observes, it is controversial among Muslim theologians whether the re-emergence of man involves the re-emergence of his former physical body or not. Most of them, including Shah Wali Ullah, the last great theologian of Islam, are inclined to think that it does involve at least some kind of physical medium suitable to the ego's new environment. It seems to me that this view is mainly due to the fact that the ego, as an individual, is inconceivable without some kind of local reference or empirical background.[6]

The crux of the matter is that Resurrection is a fact. What we do not, however, know is what nature is its. It is a riddle whether human life comprises body or soul. Prof. B.L. Atreya's discussion has an air of al-Ghazali's and he observes: "those who think that death annihilates man's personality and individuality are mistaken. They perceive man embodied in a palpable state of being and as they see nothing beyond body they view man as 'not being' when he is shorn of his body. They confine man to his body like those who think that when the lamp is shattered the light in the dust lies dead."

Professor Atreya further observes: "Our sense perceptions are active in the state of dream albeit the passivity and relaxation of our physical senses: it seems as though there is a 'dream body' that functions while physical body gets static. Our physical body is divested of all the liabilities f our 'dream-body'. So the concept of individual annihilation after the issolution of body is erroneous and least acceptable.[7]

Like Kant, Professor Atreya maintains that if the world is based on a moral reason and that if it is not meaningless and futile, then every individual is destined to immortality. Considering man's immortality as though it were a moral necessity he observes: "How irrational it is to see all our efforts go waste and sink to nothingness." Like Iqbal, he thinks the fever, fret and hectic activity of a morally encouraging and noble person should come to nought is as much inconceivable as it is absurd. Is it desirable to think that death will reduce Messiah, Nero and Washington to the same level? Will the blessed martyrs and accursed murderers 'sail in the same boat'.[8]

To explain this moral necessity further the following reference seems to be quite in place. "There has been a difference between the concept of human destiny due to our different beliefs regarding the nature of the Universe and immortality and a concept of destiny per se has prevailed either in one form or the other—Transmigration, Nirvana, Resurrection, etc. So much so that the idea of 'Past-History' in Communism manifests

the concept of morality, retribution and destiny. Man may try to hide his natural light under any bushel, it is impossible for him to get rid of his moral proclivities. It is precisely his moral sense that has provided him with something to be content with his lot; it is this moral sense that has endowed an artist with poetic judgement and Shakespeare's Hamlet is called tragedy since Prince Hamlet's end is not what it ought to be."9

However, to some the state of Barzakh is not actually that state which is duration of ego's stock-taking, as Iqbal has said, irrespective of its duration whether long or short. These "diehards" might be spared by death and they might survive it. As Iqbal observes: "The Qur'an does not contemplate liberation from finitude as the highest state of human bliss. The 'unceasing reward" of man consists in his gradual growth and self-possession, in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as in ego. Even the scene of 'Universal Destruction' immediately preceding the Day of Judgment cannot affect the perfect calm of a full-grown ego:

ونفخ فی الصور فصعق من فی السمٰوات ومن فی الارض
الا من یشاء اللہ

" 'And there shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the Heavens and all who are in the Earth shall faint away, save those whose case God wills otherwise.'10

"Who can be the subject of this exception but those in whom the ego has reached the very highest point of intensity ?"11

Iqbal has elaborated this point in *Darb-i-Kalin*, like this:

زندگانی ہے صدف، قطرۂ نیساں ہے خودی
وہ صدف کیا کہ جو قطرے کو گہر کر نہ سکے
ہو اگر خود نگر و خود گر و خود گیر خودی
یہ بھی ممکن ہے کہ تو موت سے بھی مر نہ سکے!

(1) Life is like a shell and ego like a drop of April showers. It is unbecoming of a shell if it cannot turn the drop into a pearl.

(2) If the ego is self-preserving, self-creating and self-sustaining, then it is possible that even death may not make you die.

It entails immense struggle to survive death and it is not assigned to everybody Iqbal's exposition on this point is quite in place: "It is the

deed that prepares the ego for dissolution, or disciplines him for a future career. The principle of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others. Personal immortality, then, is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it."[12] It means that immortality and resurrection are not synonymous. Resurrection is an occurrence for those who die. Immortality implies that "if present action has sufficiently fortified the ego against the shock that physical dissolution brings, is only a kind of passage to what the Qur'an describes as *Barzakh*. The records of Sufistic experience indicate that *Barzakh* is a state of consciousness characterized by a change in the ego's attitude towards time and space."[13]

It means that those whose ego has undergone consummative process, *Barzakh* only brings about a spacio-temporal chage and nothing else; such a death is different from that of a person whose ego is unfortified. But in accordance with this theme sometimes on the strength of a lament we jump over the distances of hundred years, the ego-fostering moments may be cut short speedily. If the ego-fostering means soul's liberation from the shackles of the love of the mortal, a contemplation of what God has ordained and a generation of God-like qualities in order to shake off death, it is evident, then, that such a person has sacrificed all mundane love at the alter of the real love of God. To Allama Iqbal, therefore, martyrdom in the path of the Lord is a "migration towards the Friend":

جنگِ مومن چیست؟ ہجرت سوئے دوست!
ترکِ عالم، اختیارِ کوئے دوست!
آنکہ حرفِ شوق با اقوام گفت
جنگ را رہبانیِ اسلام گفت!
کس نداند جز شہید این نکتہ را
کو بخونِ خود خرید این نکتہ را

(1) What is the war of a believer? It is migration to the Friend. It is abandoning the world for the lane of the Friend(to live in).

(2) He who taught the word of love to the nations of the world (i.e. the Prophet, peace be upon him) said that war was the monasticism of Islam.

(3) It is only the martyr who understands that subtle and delicate point because it is he who buys this understanding with his blood

This shows that for a martyr *Barzakh* is not what it is for a person of an untrained ego. Outward form of death is alike, inward state of death is different. In this regard I quote Muhammad Husain Arshi who relates one of his meetings with Iqbal as follows:

"Afterward to my query about resurrection he replied: 'It depends on the intensity of the will to live. The greater the will to live, the shorter the duration of the state of *Barzakh.* In martyrs the will to live is much stronger, hence the state of *Barzakh* almost does not exist for them. As soon as they shake off their mortal clay they see new vistas of life opened to them.' I said, 'Is there no state of *Barzakh* for a believer (مومن) in the real meanings of the term ?' He said, 'No, the reason is the will to live. I have embodied this point in the following verse:

جانے کہ بخشند دیگر نگیرند
آدم بمیرد از بے یقینی

"How can the life once given be taken back. Man dies due to lack of conviction."[14]

The Qur'an is very explicit on their point,

ولاتحسبن الّذین قتلوا فی سبیل اللّٰہ اموات، بل احیاءٌ
عند ربّھم یرزقون ○

'And reckon not thou those slain in the way of Allah to be dead.

"Nay, they are alive and with their Lord and provided for."[15]

It is evident that Iqbal's contention "that immortality is not ours as of right" is not at variance with the Holy Qur'an. What is generally understood from this sentence is that resurrection will not be imposed on all and sundry; that there will be some persons who will not be capable of resurrection and hence they will not be called upon to resurrect at all. Some Muslim philosophers subscribe to the idea that only those who are capable of living a renewed life will be invoked to resurrect. For example the following passage of Abu Nasr Farabi has been reporduced by Mahmud 'Aqqad:

ويذهب الفارابي على هذا الترتيب فى التفرقة بين الانسان
والانسان بمقدار حظه من القوة الناطقة فيجيز ان يكون بعض اشباه الاوميين
بالصورة الجسدية غير محاسبين او غير اهل للحياة الاخرى ١ [16]

"And al-Farabi proceeds on with this method of discrimination between man and man according to the measure of their faculty of rational force. Therefore he allows the possibility of a number of anthropoidea who possess human bodies not being called upon to account for their deeds or that they may be deemed unfit for another life."[17]

But Iqbal in the light of "And each of them is to come to him on the Day of Judgment, alone"[18] (وكلهم آتيه يوم القيامة فردا ١٨) believes that everybody must resurrect at least once, for he is accountable to God for his deeds. Yet we should clearly understand that immortality and resurrection are in no way synonymous; they are quite distinct. phenomena. To him immortality means the end of death itself, as already cited above, the state which does not entail *Barzakh* because the self-contented souls return to God in increasing bliss and are happily admitted to grace.

يا ايّها النّفس المطمئنّة ارجعى الى ربّك راضية مرضية
فادخلى فى عبادى وادخلى جنّتى ـ

"To the righteous will be said: O thou soul in complete satisfaction, come back thou to thy Lord, well pleased and well-pleasing upto Him and enter thou among. My devotees, yea, enter thou My Heaven."[116]

Of course, Iqbal's sentence in his lecture "The Human Ego— Its Freedom and Immortality," is explicable when he thinks that:

"It [the state of *Barzakh]* must be a state of great psychio-unhingement, especially in the case of full-grown egos who have naturally developed fixed modes of operation on a specific spatio-temporal order, and may mean dissolution to less fortunate ones. However, the ego must continue to struggle until he is able to gather himself up and win his resurrection."[19]

The principle which Iqbal has kept in view while enlightening us on the human ego and necessity to consummate it, should have led us on to a logical conclusion that the less developed egos may not be invoked to resurrect and ultimately come to dissolution. Iqbal has used 'may' and not 'must'. Even then this surmise is at variance with "And each of them is to come to him on the Day of Judgment alone." So the deprival of resurrection implies that the state of *Barzakh* in such cases would mark a severance in their stream of consciousness which would last till the last day. Whether resurrection means actual resurrection of an historic body, goes on agitating our minds. If our body resurrects, will it be the body we are now familiar with or would it be conceived in some new shape and form? We have

yet to cut the skeins of the Gordian knot. Al-Ghazali maintains that soul is the actual man and that man is what he is, not due to his body. He thinks the body to be an external form of the soul. He argues: "Right from the external body of a drop to that of a newly-born baby human body undergoes a series of changes. So many vegetables, grains and meats compose human body and despite it man has remained a single entity."[20]

It imples that to al-Ghazali it makes no difference what form a man resurrects in on the Day of Judgment, or if it entails *Barzakh* what mould may he possess on his re-emergence under the proviso that he has some soul. Iqbal is inclined to agree with al-Ghazali. Iqbal thinks man must have some physical medium on his resurrection. In other words, he believes in a bodily resurrection. He observes:

"The point, however, which has caused much difference of opinion among Muslim philosophers and theologians is whether the re-emergence of man involves the re-emergence of his former physical medium. Most of them, including Shah Wali Ullah, the last great theologian of Islam, are inclined to think that it does involve at least some kind of physical medium suitable to the ego's new environment . . . Nor do we gain any further insight into the nature of 'second creation' by associating it with some kind of body, however subtle it may be. The analogies of the Qur'an only suggest it as a fact; they are not meant to reveal its nature and character. Philosophically speaking, therefore, we cannot go farther than this—that in view of the past history of man it is highly improbable that his career should come to an end with the dissolution of his body."[21]

یہ نکتہ میں نے سیکھا بوالحسن سے
کہ جاں مرتی نہیں مرگِ بدن سے
چمک سورج میں کیا باقی رہے گی
اگر بیزار ہو اپنی کرن سے!

(1) The subtle point that life would not end with the death of the body I learnt from Abul Hasan (Ash'ari)

(2) The sun, if it would hate its beam will lose all its brilliance.

In these materialistic modern times when man is disillusioned with his future and thinks that his life is "sound and fury signifying nothing" the belief in Resurrection should be disseminated. If the concept of Resurrection culminates in a belief, most of the feeling of life's absurdity and futility will be eradicated, and man, reanimated with a fresh zeal of

life, will view himself and his environments in a new perspective. But leaving the materialists aside, first of all we need to consolidate this belief in the hearts of those who profess it and fear death despite it

مسلمان زاده و نامحرمِ مرگ!
ز بیمِ مرگ لرزان تا دمِ مرگ!
دلے در سینۂ چاکش ندیدم
دمِ بگسستۂ بود و غمِ مرگ!

(1) Born of a Muslim father and still not knowing the meaning of death, he goes on trembling from fear of death till his end.

(2) I could find no heart in his afflicted bosom. In place of heart there dwells a broken breath and a haunting worry of death

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IQBAL'S IDEA OF TAQDIR (DESTINY)*

No great poet or thinker can ever be treated as a representative of some particular school, era, country or race. He looks ahead of his time and his influence transcends all racial and geographical boundaries. Yet no great poet or thinker can remain uninfluenced by his immediate surroundings The socio-economic and political lot of his people is bound to be reflected in his views. He shares the hopes and fears of his society and partakes of the reactions of the milieu to different kinds of currents and cross-currents, impulses, drives, and also impediments. It is but natural that a "visionary" should, firstly, interpret his impressions only. Such interpretation normally mirrors the general attributes and aptitudes of his people. But he gradually rises to the position of a cirtic and then to that of a mentor. That criticism and guidance, if it is intrinsically beneficial, becomes the spiritual and intellectual inheritance of all nations. Thus being lauded and loved by the whole world that person becomes "uncircumscribed," like moonlight. It is then that no particular race or country can lay exclusive claim to him in respect of his person. Almost similar is the case with Allama Muhammad Iqbal. He has become "boundless," and universal.

An attempt has been made in the following paragraphs to explain his criticism of one of the notions current among almost all religious communities, Muslims included. That is the notion or concept of *Taqdir*, a term for which there appears to be no appropriate equivalent word in the English language. Destiny or predestination does not serve the purpose satisfactorily. Yet I have preferred to use destiny to connote *Taqdir.* The idea of *Taqdir* or destiny, according to Iqbal, had been given a wrong significance. The effect of that wrong significance alongwith many other misjudged and misinterpreted notions had turned the Muslim *Ummah*, in the era of decline, into a horde of fatalists or a veritable herd of sheep

The term was being taken to signify as predestined and unalterable fortune of all existences including human beings. This belief or notion tended to kill the very urge to do anything for one's own betterment or that of one's society. Naturally, if everything stands decided once and for all, then why to bother ? Then utter resignation could be the only best policy. In a quatrain Iqbal explains this state of complacent defeatism prevalent among the Muslims, with a masterly touch of an artistcritic He says:

فرنگی صید بست از کعبه و دیر
صدا از خانقاهان رفت "لا غیر"
حکایت پیش مُلّا باز گفتم
دعا فرمود "یارب عاقبت خیر"! [2]

"The Europeans bagged their game from the Sanctuary of the *Ka'ba* and other places of worship but the voice that was raised in the monasteries spoke: 'None else' (but God Himself ordains all things). I related this story to the *Mulla* who prayed: 'O Lord ! make the end (life hereafter) pleasant.' "

This is how Iqbal depicts that comfortable defeatism of the spiritual and religious guides of the Muslim nations. If that was the case, then how could the Muslims be expected to break the shackles of slavery and drive the European Imperialists away? Iqbal could not but react to it.

It was for the good of Muslim *Ummah* and particularly the Muslims of the Pak-India subcontinent that God had bestowed on Iqbal the faculty of a lofty, revolutionary vision and analysis. He penetrated deep into the alleys of this misleading idea of *Taqdir*. As he himself has declared many a time that the basis of all his thought is the Qur'an, hence we can very safely imagine that his idea of *Taqdir* also is based on the meanings that this word or term holds in the Qur'an. We know that *Taqdir* is derived from *Qadr* or *Qadar* which signifies estimate, measure, judgment, capacity, etc. Let us now refer to a few verses of the Qur'an.

وما قدروا الله حق قدره [3]

"Not just estimate of God do they make . . . . "

فالق الاصباح وجعل الليل سكنا والشمس والقمر حسبانا
ذلك تقدير العزيز العليم [4]

"He it is Who cleaves the day-break (from the Dark). He makes the night for rest and tranquillity. And the sun and the moon for reckoning (of time). Such is the Judgment and Ordering of Him, the Exalted in power, the Omniscient."

والقمر قدرناه منازل حتى عاد كالعرجون القديم [5]

"And the moon — We have measured for her mansions (to traverse) till she returns like the old (and withered) lower part of a date-stalk."

انّا كلّ شيئٍ خلقناه بقدرٍ [6]

"Verily all things have We created in proportion and measure '

ولم يكن لّهٗ شريكٌ فى الملك وخلق كلّ شيئٍ فقدّرهٗ تقديرا [7]

'Nor has He a partner in His Dominion. It is He Who created all things and ordered in due proportion."

The measuring, estimation, proportion, ordering, judgment, fitness, capacity and what not demand different degrees of application. Lifeless bodies require quite a particular treatment. Living bodies with active intelligence are to be handled in a different manner. Man as such belongs to the last category. Man in general does possess a highly active intelligence,hence he has to look after himself, as a responsible being. In that respect he must put to use the faculty of analysis and therefore "choose" with knowledge and purpose. He should not feel just "left to himself" as a block of wood or a stone, or a tree, or an animal. He has foresight, he has memory, i.e. he can learn through experience and make this lot better If that is true, then he has always to be alert. It does not behove him to bow brainlessly and leg-tied like a blade of grass before every wind that blows.

Iqbal in his lectures *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* has not devoted a full separate lecture to the exposition of his concept of *Taqdir*. However, he has expressed himself on this point in the second, third and fourth lectures. But the impact of his concept of *Taqdir* is manifestly perceptible and pervasive throughout the Lectures and the major portion of his poetry, and is the pivot of all his philosophy. The essence of his philosophy is the Self; and if *Taqdir* (Destiny) is taken for "Fate" (قسمت) in its prevalent sense, the advocacy and affirmation of the "Self" will be off the mark, leading us to the negation of the "Self". In his own words,

"It cannot, however, be denied that the idea of destiny runs throught-out the Qur'an. This point is worth considering, more especially because Spengler in his *Decline of the West*. West seems to think that Islam amounts to a complete negation of the ego."[8]

Iqbal views this world as a field of action for man, where he has to

realize all his possibilities and potentialities. Iqbal has made this point clear in his poem *"Ruh-i-Ardi Adam Ka Istiqbal Karti Hai"*.

ہیں تیرے تصرف میں یہ بادل، یہ گھٹائیں
یہ گنبدِ افلاک، یہ خاموش فضائیں
یہ کوہ، یہ صحرا، یہ سمندر، یہ ہوائیں
تھیں پیشِ نظر کل تو فرشتوں کی ادائیں
آئینۂ ایام میں آج اپنی ادا دیکھ!

خورشیدِ جہاں تاب کی ضو تیرے شرر میں
آباد ہے اک تازہ جہاں تیرے ہنر میں
جچتے نہیں بخشے ہوئے فردوس نظر میں
جنت تری پنہاں ہے تیرے خونِ جگر میں
اے پیکرِ گِل کوششِ پیہم کی جزا دیکھ!

"These clouds, these rains, this dome of heavens, all the silent space–mountains and deserts, oceans and winds are under your sway."

"Till yesterday you looked to the gestures of angels but today you have to observe your own behaviour in the mirror of Time."

"The spark within you contains the brightness of the world-illumining sun. A new universe flourishes in your skill. It does not behove you to accept Paradise in charity. Your Paradise lies hidden in your capacity to be engaged in blood-consuming exertions and foils. O you, who are an embodiment of dust, look for the reward of incessant toil."

Iqbal asks us to remember that the universe we belong to is yet to be completed and perfected. It is neither a blocked nor a locked universe because according to Iqbal:

"کہ آ رہی ہے دمادم صدائے کُن فیکون"[9]

"Every moment things are being ordered to 'become' and they are becoming."

This means that in Iqbal's view the process of creation is still going

on. To him it is an organic world. He substantiates the process of recurrent creation and an ever-expanding universe by arguing from the Qur'an:

كُلَّ يَوْمٍ هُوَ فِي شَأْنٍ[10]

"Every day is He (God Almighty) engaged in some new work."
129
And similarly:

يزيد فى الخلق ما يشاء[11]
130
"He adds to the creation what He wills."

The following extract from Iqbal's second Lecture elucidates thi point

it [the universe] is present in its nature as an open possibility It is time regarded as an organic whole that the Qur'an describes *Tadqir.* or the destiny – a word which has been so much misunderstood both in and outside the world of Islam. Destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities."[12]

He has given poetic expression to this concept in the following verses

سلسلۂ روز و شب، تارِ حریرِ دو رنگ
جس سے بناتی ہے ذات اپنی قبائے صفات[13]
یہ کائنات ابھی ناتمام ہے شاید
کہ آ رہی ہے دمادم صدائے کن فیکون![14]
جہاں اور بھی ہیں ابھی بے نمود
کہ خالی نہیں ہے ضمیرِ وجود[15]

"The chain of day and night is like a silken thread of two colours (black and white) and with this thread God prepares the robe of His Attributes."

"This universe is perhaps still not complete for every moment things are being ordered to 'become' and they are becoming."

"There are more worlds yet to emerge. The recesses of 'being' have not become empty."

This universe, which is an organic whole to Iqbal is an open possibility because it is not a blocked and locked universe. It is developing and expan-

ding. It is not a "finished whole". Were it so, the universe would stand shorn of all creative process and its duration would have meant a mere repetition; that is why he labelled Nietzsche's "Eternal Recurrence" as Eternal Repetition or a rigid mechanism [16] And

كلّ یومٍ ھو فی شان

[Every day is He engaged in some new work] is declared by the Qur'an 'To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. In fact, all creative activity is free activity. Creation is opposed to repetition which is a characteristic of mechanical action."[17]

His poem "*Zamana*" ("Time") has the following verse:

مری صراحی سے قطرہ قطرہ نئے حوادث ٹپک رہے ہیں
میں اپنی تسبیحِ روز و شب کا شمار کرتا ہوں دانہ دانہ ![18]

"(Says Time:) From my goblet new possibilities emerge drop after drop. It tell every bead of my rosary. This is my prayer of the da ; this is my prayer of the night."

Iqbal pushes this argument a step further.

He has negated repetition, hence the question, "Is the universe with ts possibilities predetermined by an extraneous discipline?" Or "has every thing been endowed with a capacity of self-development to undergo a consummative process with the passage of time?" Iqbal thinks that time is an open possibility and the universe is rich with its potentialities that exhibit themselves by virtue of their inner reach ingrained in their nature. Iqbal says

"A time-process cannot be conceived as a line already drawn. It is a line in the drawing — an actualization of open possibilities."[19]

Perhaps by open possibilities Iqbal meant unlimited possibilities. Now in order to understand the point further we should consider the following statement as well:

"At a particular moment in its forward movement it is finite; but since the self to which it is organic is creative, it is liable to increase, and is consequently boundless in the sense that no limit of its extention is final. Its boundlessness is potential, not actual. Nature, then, must be understood as a living, ever-growing organism whose growth has

no final external limits. Its only limit is internal. i.e.. the immanent self which animates and sustains the whole, as the Qur'an says: 'And verily unto thy Lord is the limits' (53 : 14)."[20]

Such is the nature of the universe man inhabits. It is the educative centre as well as his "bench". Man is to determine himself in it by his intrinsic worth. Everyone is a responsible entity, and everyone has to bear the burden of his own deeds:

الا تزر وازرة وزر اخرى ٥ [21]

And then everyone has to appear in person before God on the Day of Judgment.

وكلهم آتيه يوم القيامة فردا [22]

It is quite obvious that man is answerable for his deeds because he is responsible for them, otherwise his amenability would seem to amount to a farce. It further means that he is prescient, volitive and elective. Whether he is sentient and spry in his self-development or not is of the greatest moment. Thus the poem *"Zamana"* ("Time") becomes a mouthpiece of the poet:

ہر ایک سے آشنا ہوں، لیکن جدا جدا رسم و راہ میری
کسی کا راکب، کسی کا مرکب، کسی کو عبرت کا تازیانہ!
نہ تھا اگر تو شریکِ محفل قصور تیرا ہے یا کہ میرا؟
مرا طریقہ نہیں کہ رکھ لوں کسی کی خاطر مئے شبانہ! [23]

"I am everybody's acquaintance, but my dealings with them vary from person to person. For some I am a rider; for some I am a mount; while for some others I am a whip of warning."

"If you did not respond to the invitation the fault is yours and not mine.

It is not my way to withhold night-drinks for the sake of anybod (who is absent)."

Iqbal's first lecture beigns thus:

"What is the character and general structure of the universe in which we live ? Is there a permanent element in the consitution of this universe? How are we related to it? What place do we occupy in it, and what is the kind of conduct that befits the place we occupy?"

The last sentence implies Iqbal's innate belief that man is not a predestined being. "What is the kind of conduct that befits the place we occupy ?" shows that man himself is to determine his own action.Choice s his.

Iqbal takes strong exception to the interpretation of destiny as luck or fate. This interpretation entails that even after having stepped into the race of world man has no right to freedom of action and that he had been set in a prescribed mould which he cannot outgrow. Consequently we can presume that whatever has been ordained, that must be. Human struggle is out and out alien to the scheme of life and that we can neither better nor mar our present or future with the "art" of human efforts. This is a state of affairs better described as a state of doing nothing and waiting for the inevitable. Such a situation led the Muslims to the idea of predestination, hence the materialist West equipped with modern technological weapons fell upon them with full and irresistible force and then ruled them with an iron hand.

This idea or belief implies utter self-negation. Those who subscribe to such an idea are shorn of inspiration and resolution. They vegetate and fossilize – a state absolutely unbecoming to the best of all creation, the Vicegerent of God. Every individual must himself choose his destiny and the "destinies of individuals put together make the star of the destiny of a nation"

ہر فرد ہے ملّت کے مقدّر کا ستارا [24]

How do the individuals choose ? What is the reliable yardstick o enthusiasm for and will to progress. What are the aims? How much unity is there in their ends? If the individuals in a society are cowards or myopic "in themselves," they will evolve a society beset with various evils. How can different individuals indifferent to the unity and beauty of purpose lay sound foundation of a society that provides to it a basis to stand on It is quite possible that an edified and strong-willed majority may absorb a base minority, but it is impossible that an unworthy predominant majority may escape the collective punishment at the hands of Nature. Says Iqbal:

فطرت افراد سے اغماض بھی کر لیتی ہے
[25] کبھی کرتی نہیں ملّت کے گناہوں کو معاف!

Nature may overlook the individuals, i.e. may not punish them here for their misdeeds, but it never forgives the sins of a nation."

Iqbal has dealt with this concept in his lecture entitled "The Spirit of Muslim Culture". That in the light of the Qur'an. He maintains that:

'History or, in the language of the Qur'an, 'the days of God,' is the third source of human knowledge according to the Qur'an. It is one of the most essential teachings of the Qur'an that nations are collec tively judged, and suffer for their misdeeds here and now.[26]

In short, if the individuals are lazy and languorous, the society cannot collectively be characterised as efficient.Such societies never aspire for self-security nor exhibit any gusto for progress. Human struggle to "go beyond the sunset" rouses all perceptive forces in him because it is concentrative and selective. Aimless nations come to a standstill; they sink in torpor; and having no bright present, they can think of no cherishable future. But they do look back, now and then, to the dreamland of their past.

Iqbal found the contemporary world of Islam given to inaction and wedded to 'fate' and as he was viewing the Pak-India sub-continent closely hence fatalistic attitude tormented him directly. He says sarcastically.

بہشتے بہرِ پاکانِ حرم ہست
بہشتے بہرِ اربابِ ہمم ہست!!
بگو ہندی مسلماں را کہ خوش باش
بہشتے فی سبیل اللہ ہم ہست! [27]

"There is a Paradise for the holymen of the *Ka'bah*, i.e. Muslims (who do good and never indulge in impurities). And there is a Paradise for those who have will and determination."

"Tell the Indian Muslims to be happy.There is still another Paradise (to which they will be entitled) and that will be given in charity."

In other words, Iqbal told the Indian Muslims (and Iqbal died nine years before the emergence of Pakistan) that if they cherished high hopes without doing anything practically, they were doomed, for the Holy Writ runs that human beings are given what they deserve:

لیس للانسان الا ما سعیٰ ۝ [28]

First deserve then desire, is a vital principle of existence - Happiness is to be earned. It is not granted for nothing. This point is frequently stressed in the Holy Qur'an. Iqbal's call is:

اے چو شبنم بر زمیں افتندہ
در بغل داری کتاب زندہ[29]

"O You, who fall to the ground like a drop of dew, see that you have under your arm a living Book (the Qur'an)."

Why were the Muslims "half-dead" or breathing dead Bedies despite this "living Book" is explained to some extent in the following paragraph:

"But is it not true, you will say, that a most degrading type of Fatalism has prevailed in the world of Islam for many centuries? This is true, and has a history behind it which requires separate treatment. It is sufficient here to indicate that the kind of Fatalism (قسمت) which the European critics of Islam sum up in the word *'Qismat'* was due partly to philosophical thought, partly to political expediency, and partly to the gradually diminishing force of the life-impulse, which Islam originally imparted to its followers. Philosophy, searching for the meaning of cause as applied to God, and taking time as the essence of the relation between cause and effect, could not but reach the notion of a transcendent God, prior to the universe, and operating upon it from without. God was thus conceived as the last link in the chain of causation, and consequently the real author of all that happens in the universe."[30]

God is the real author of all that happens in the universe, was all right. But such an attitude was an excuse made, on the one hand, by the luxurious and the ruthless and, on the other hand, by the idle and easygoing to veil their practical discrepancies, maintaining that they did nothing of their own accord nor were they capable of doing anything. If we admit that God endowed man with discriminative faculty in keeping with His Omnipotence and His Decree, that man can tell evil from virtue.

[31] ان احسنتم احسنتم لانفسکم وان اساتم فلها

"If you do good you do it for your own selves and if you do evil that too is for your own selves."

This means God has bestowed on man the faculty of determination, discrimination and endurance. How can this idea lead us to the negation of His Creativity and Ominipotence ? God decreed the birth, life and death of all animate things, plants and animals in accordance with fundamental and perennial principles and norms prevalent in this universe. They have limited capacities, possibilities and ends. But He has decreed that man is to

subdue all that exists in the universe. God has, as though, created in the form of a mans being epitomising. His attributes of Creativity (خلاق), having the distinction of being a part of His Soul.

ونفخت فيه من روحی

[I have breathed in him of My Own Breath] . If he were not captain of His *particle* of soul, he would not be called upon to inculcate in himself the Divine Character, and it is possible only if his progress is not impeded by the materialistic world. If he fulfils the demands of his instincts like animals, then there can be no line of distinction drawn between common animals and him. Ibn Miskawaih states:

والانسان اذا انقصت افعاله وقصرت عما خلق له ان تكون افعاله التى
تصدر عنه وعن رويته غير كاملة اخرى بان يحط عن المرتبة
الانسانية الى المرتبة البهمية — هذا ان صدرت افعاله
الانسانية عنه ناقصة غير تامة 32

> "When man deteriorates in his deeds which fall short of what he was created for, and fall below the norms, he merits to be relegated to the state of animals. And that can happen only if there is a void in human actions and they are not what they ought to be."

It is evident that God has bestowed on man discriminative skill and that is exactly His Will. That is why, when man cannot practically maintain his station by telling virtue from evil, the Law of Nature chastises him and makes him live as a lower creation despite all his learning, culture and apparently sophisticated manners. Sheer animality animates him, and when this animality gets hold of him on a large scale, Nemesis overtakes him and puts him in an iron cage. He is thus deterred from squeezing the blood out of others. But the fact is that they remain animals. When that cage expands, it is called a Communist Society; viewed from this perspective, Communism is a punishement and not a panacea.

To Iqbal the maintenance of the state of humanity is self-affirmation and its reverse is self-negation. If man were made to promote the forces of the virtue and forbidden to choose vice, then he could rightly say that he had no choice. As he is capable of choosing either vice or virtue and discriminating in them, it is proved that he is not helpless; he is free to pick and choose. According to Iqbal, the ultimate Will has run the risk of choice of vice too, in order to give him a larger freedom of action. This is how he explains this stance:

"But to permit the emergence of a finite ego who has the power to choose, after considering the relative values of several courses of action open to him, is really to take a great risk; for the freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is opposite of good. That God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in man; it is for man now to justify this faith. Perhaps such a risk alone makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of a being who was created of 'goodliest fabric' and then 'brought down to be the lowest of the low'. "[33]

The verses of the Qur'an pertaining to the conquest of heaven, earth and whatever is in them by man and 'breathing His soul into him' enjoin upon him the values of solidarity and affirmation, progress and development. The faithful parts company with other creatures which do not have to act in the light of injunctions that appertain to virtue and vice; they have not been given free choice:

تقدیر کے پابند نباتات و جمادات
مومن فقط احکامِ الٰہی کا ہے پابند[34]

"It is the plants and the inanimate existences which are bound by a preordained destiny. But the believer in God is only to abide by the commands of the Almighty."

The verse also mainfests that when man is divested of faith, he is strippped of humanity too and rolls down through animality to the world of insensate things.

No animal can transcend, as an individual, the general level of its kind and keeping the limitations of that kind can be relied upon as such. But man is the best of all creation. Hence, he can attain to dizzy heights, morally, spiritually and intuitionally, where even angels fear to tread. Yet when he cannot guard and protect his humanity, he rolls down the precipice and reaches the nadir which is beyond the capacity of all animals. The cause is simple; man has infinite possibilities. There he is, the highest of the high, and lowest of the low. Due to his superior faculties he can outdo all animals in being instrumental to the forces of evil. Can we dream of an animal inventing lethal gas-chambers and H-bombs to annihilate his own kind? Mustafa al-Kik has repeated this view citing al-Qadiyyt al-Uluhiyyah (القضية الالوهية) by Prof. 'Abdul Karim al-Khatib in these words:

اما حين ينكر الانسان جانبه الروحى ويعيش على انه مادة من لحم
ودم فانه لن يرتفع كثيراً عن الحياة الوحوش الضارية والنسور

الكاسرة ـ حياته كلها عراك وصراع وانا مستخدم الصواريخ
الذرية والقنابل الهيدروجينية بدل الناب والمخلب

"When man negates his spiritual side and comes down to lead his life only on the assumption that he is nothing but flesh and blood, he cannot outgrow beasts and vultures. His life becomes nothing but a scuffle aimed at vanquishing others; the difference lies in that, instead of long sharp teeth and ferocious paws, he makes use of nuclear rocketry and missiles."35

It was imperative to endow such a creature of infinite possibilities with the sense of discrimination between good and evil, as well as to tame him so as to strike and equilibrium in his personality. Hence, the necessity of the Revelations till human race reached a blissful stage of development wherein their intellect and mind matured and consummated. After imparting him the most perfect Revelation and a living model (in the person of Muhammad peace be upon him) God warned man that the choice is his own: one is the right path, the path of God and His Apostle, while on the other hand there are many other paths each one intriguing and leading to disastrous destination. Albeit, it is man's own choice. It is man's pleasure and pride to be honoured with the right to choose.

To arrive at a conclusion after profound thinking is an uphill task Only those persons who have "oneness" in their being can arrive at a conclusion after giving serious thought to a situation. A split personality oscillates between "to be" and "not to be". Such a choice or conclusion is a sort of self-affirmation; and according to Iqbal[153] "The ego reveals itself as a unity of what we call mental states". The unity of "mental states" or unity in personality cannot be achieved but by self-schooling. It cannot be bestowed upon or given away in alms to a person from without; "Unity is achieved, not given." We can get at this unity through a process of incessant struggle. Socrates said, "Know thyself" and "Choose thyself," meaning thereby that we should discover ourselves and choose our own personalities. It is tantamount to saying how we live and what we live for during our temporal existence is to be decided by our own selves. It is this decision which Iqbal calls the *choice of destiny*. We are justified in asking what sort of destiny does one choose because there is every possibility of self-accomplishment in human beings.

If a man knows what he is, he can know what he ought to be; hence his development from moment to moment. The deliberate development of personality or the choice of destiny comes to the fore in Iqbal's poetry time and again And from the beginning of the *Secrets of the Self*, which

runs parallel to the third part of *Bang-i-Dara* onward to the end of his poetical works, this attitude has persisted, nay, it has rather been reinforced and reaffirmed. The choice of destiny becomes manifest even in the beginning of the *Asrar-i-Khudi:*

قطرهٔ شبنم سرِ شاخِ گلے
تافت مثلِ اشکِ چشمِ بلبلے
مرغِ مضطر زیرِ شاخِ گل رسید
در دهانش قطرهٔ شبنم چکید
چون ز سوزِ تشنگی طائر گداخت
از حیاتِ دیگرے سرمایه ساخت
غافل از حفظِ خودی یک دم مشو
ریزهٔ الماس شو، شبنم مشو [37]

"Upon a rose-twig a drop of dew.
Gleamed like a tear in a nightingale's eye . . .
The sorely distressed bird hopped under the rose-bush,
The dew-drop trickled into his mouth . . .
When the bird melted in the fire of his thirst,
It appropriated the life of another . . .
Never for an instant neglect self-preservation:
Be a diamond, not a dewdrop !"

Negligence in self-preservation is a cause of weakness and this weakness pushes man into the greedy clutches of a powerful person. So is the case of weak nations or societies which are overwhelmed and devoured by the stronger ones. This theme has been artistically explained in *Bal-i-Jibril* in a poem captioned "Abdul 'Ala al-Ma'arri":

کہتے ہیں کبھی گوشت نہ کھاتا تھا معرّی
پھل پھول پہ کرتا تھا ہمیشہ گزر اوقات
اک دوست بھونا ہوا تیتر اسے بھیجا
شاید کہ وہ شاطر اسی تدبیر سے ہو مات
یہ خوانِ تر و تازہ معرّی نے جو دیکھا
کہنے لگا وہ صاحبِ غفران و لزومات
اے مرغکِ بیچارہ، ذرا یہ تو بتا تو
تیرا وہ گنہ کیا تھا یہ ہے جس کی مکافات؟

افسوس صد افسوس کہ شاہیں نہ بنا تو
دیکھے نہ تری آنکھ نے فطرت کے اشارات
تقدیر کے قاضی کا یہ فتویٰ ہے ازل سے
ہے جرمِ ضعیفی کی سزا مرگِ مفاجات

"It is said that Ma'arri never ate meat. He lived on fruit and vegetables.

"A friend sent him a roasted partridge to allure that clever gentleman into eating meat.

"When Ma'arri saw that elegant tray he, the author of *Ghufran* and *Lazumat* said,

"O you helpless little bird, would you tell me your sin for which this punishment has been awarded to you?

"Alas, you did not become a falcon; your eye did not perceive the directives of Nature.

"It is the eternal decree of the Judge sitting in Judgment on destinies —that whosoever commits the crime of being weak, the punishment for him is unexpected death."

Now it is quite evident that a partridge cannot transmute itself into a falcon. It is a conceit to explicate. A bird has no option or choice while a man has. It is therefore the difference between a partridge and an eagle that impels us on to decide whether we live as weak persons or as powerful ones, whether we live as slaves or as masters. In *Javaid Namah* the same tone and theme persists and many lively points regarding the choice of destiny have been brought home to us:

گر ز یک تقدیرِ خوں گردد جگر
خواہ از حق حکمِ تقدیرِ دگر!
تو اگر تقدیرِ نو خواہی رواست
زانکہ تقدیراتِ حق لا انتہاست
رمزِ باریکش بحرفے مضمر است
تو اگر دیگر شوی ، او دیگر است!

شبنمی ؟ افتندگی تقدیر تست
قلزمی ؟ پایندگی تقدیر تست!
خاک شو نذر ہوا سازد ترا
سنگ شو بر شیشہ اندازد ترا! [38]

"If a certain *Taqdir* has tormented you and you are fed up with that, then pray to God for some other *Taqdir*.

If you wish another *Taqdir*, it is quite permissible because there is no limit to the *Taqdirat* (destinies) ordinable by God.

Its 'subtle indication' is hidden in a single phrase, i.e. change yourself and your destiny stands changed.

Become a drop of dew and you fall. That is your destiny. Become a sea and live for ever. That becomes your destiny.

Become dust and destiny will hand you over to the winds. Become a stone and destiny will strike you against glasses. (Nature will use you to break the more fragile things/object.")

From this, we learn that the world of categories is lying before us unhidden. The change of categories changes the estimate, judgment, in the sum total of possibilities. The only handicap is the lack of determination. In fact, this play of categories works as a prompter. It urges to renounce and to acquire-to renounce that which diminishes and to acquire that which grows and enhances. With this background, now we are in a better position to understand the following verse which has already been quoted by speakers and writers on Iqbal:

تقدیر کے قاضی کا یہ فتویٰ ہے ازل سے
ہے جرمِ ضعیفی کی سزا مرگِ مفاجات!

'It is the eternal decree of the Judge sitting in Judgment on destinies —that whosoever commits the crime of being weak, the punishment for him is unexpected death."

But in Iqbal's view, man should pray to God so that He may grant him enough strength to attain a higher destiny and lead him to a more genuinely glorious end. The spectacle of destinies is before our eyes in this world. There are dust-particles and rocks, glasses and hills, drops and oceans, boats and storms, pigeons and falcons, jackals and lions, slaves and masters, rulers and the ruled. Nothing is needless in God's universe. High and low, big

and small, sour and sweet, creeping and flying, eating and being eaten, hard and soft, colourful and colourless, each and every object has to perform the duties assigned to it and has to be rewarded according to its desire—The choice is ours. What do we choose to be ?

Yet the power to choose destiny and the mastery over ultimate likes and dislikes cannot be attained easily. Human life is both soul and matter; soul aspires to God for guidance while matter pulls him down; soul is pure while matter is impure, and the latter no doubt has much greater and easier scope to display itself. The soul-entity of man is called *Amr* which means command and direction, whereas matter-entity of man is called *Khalq* which means creation. All avarice pertains to materiality of man, i.e., his creation-entity. If somebody turns out to be a slave of avarice, nothing strange about it, as dross must return to dross. If a man, on the other hand, leads an ideological life, is sympathetic, serves humanity, is selfless and always prepared to make sacrifices for the good of others and is not ensnared by avarice, this would be really an amazing phenomnon. Such a person should be esteemed and honoured as it is not easy to transcend matter-entity. Without perpetual struggle and constant crusade, one cannot rise above the physical and cannot rid of its outrageous claims. Perseverance in waging war against the material in a man is an outcome of a total dedication to and love of a higher cause. The highest cause is the cause of Allah, the only God. "   "—there is no god but Allah. Says Iqbal:

یہ ایک سجدہ جسے تو گراں سمجھتا ہے
ہزار سجدوں سے آدمی کو دیتا ہے نجات ! [39]

"This one prostration (before God) which you feel burden-some rids man of thousands of prostrations."

یہ مال و دولتِ دنیا، یہ رشتہ و پیوند
بتانِ وہم و گماں، لاالٰہ الّا اللہ [40]

"All these worldly possessions and treasures, all relations and connections are nothing but the idols created by false imaginings. The only truth is that there is no god but Allah."

The claims of the material are in no manner less intense for man than those for an animal. These claims can be termed as instincts. Abdul Qahir ibn 'Abdullah al-Suhrawardi in his book *Awarif-ul-Ma'arif* (a book written earlier than that by Shihab-ud-Din al-Suhrawardi), observes:

من عرف اصول النفس وجبلاتها عرف ان لا قدرة له عليها الا بالاستعانه
بارئها وفاطرها فلا يتحقق العبد بالانسانية الا بعد ان يدبر دواعی
الحيوانية فيه بالعلم والعدل وهو رعاية فی الافراط والتفريط ثم
بذالك تتقوى الانسانية ومعناها [41]

'One who knows the basic principles of his self and its instincts realizes that he can have control neither on the self nor on its instincts without God's succour, the Creator and Originator of them. No individual can rise to the level of humanity unless he has dealt with his animal desires with knowledge and equity. This means he keeps a vigilant eye on both the extremes, then and with this method his humanity and its morale become strengthened''

Iqbal observes:

"Indeed the evolution of life shows that though in the beginning the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental, as it grows in power, tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence." 42

Yes, "the mental" may rise to a position of complete independence, but the middle-state tends to render us "suspended," i.e., the spritual pulls us up while the physical pulls us down. We are on the horns of the dilemma in this state. Most of the human beings yield to instincts and choose the physical. The Qu'ran is most explicit about such individuals:

ولو شئنا لرفعناه بها ولكنه اخلد الى الارض
واتبع هواه [43]

"If it had been Our Will We should have elevated him with Our signs, but he stuck to the earth and followed his own vain desires."

On the one hand, again, it is the pull of the material and on the other there is the shadow of the Divine Soul. According to Qazwini, the author of *Ajaib al Makhluqat* :

اول مراتب هذه الكائنات تراب وآخرها نفس ملكية طاهرة [44]

The first category of creation is dust (material), the last is that of spiritual."

In this tug-of-war it is possible that man may become helpless or he may not arrive at a correct decision due to his inner struggle and may take wrong for right. Every choice is a destiny for which either we suffer or we are rewarded. It is obvious that the world of "direction" *Amr* and that of "creation" *Khalq* co-exist in one being; they are the closest neighbours and they interact. Inner conflict weakens in those who are overpowered by animality and they live comparatively easy. But those who try to emerge out of animality, they are in a *restless* state and cannot feel at peace with the material. Why should the material flog the dead horse ? It tries to entangle those who tend to be independent of it. In such a state, it is likely that the voice of the material may seem to come from "above" and the listener takes it for a voice from angelic or revelational spheres and be led to a blind alley. It is also possible that the same may lead a man on to avarice and pride. Iqbal has expressed this idea through lively metaphors·

صاحبِ ساز کو لازم ہے کہ غافل نہ رہے
گاہے گاہے غلط آہنگ بھی ہوتا ہے سروش! [45]

'It is essential for the minstrel to be always alert because at times the angel (who reveals songs) himself sings out of tune."

Therefore it is a necessity to keep on praying for better destiny and seeking every moment the guidance from the Creator of all things, temporal spiritual and inherent:

تری دعا سے قضا تو بدل نہیں سکتی
مگر ہے اس سے یہ ممکن کہ تو بدل جائے!
تری دعا ہے کہ ہو تیری آرزو پوری
مری دعا ہے تری آرزو بدل جائے! [46]

The first verse is especially worth considering. The verse means that prayer leaves its impact on the beseecher and thus brings about an inner change in him. All this is obvious in that, when a person prays, he reiterates and thus reminds himself of the aim he is to achieve. This continued repetition creates perseverance and strengthens the determination The beseecher's capability and norm undergoes a change with the development of his determination to achieve his goal. Capability and determination grow together proportionately. The Divine decrees about categories remain what they are. But for the man of resolution and untiring effort no outer category is static. It changes, in the sense that the change occuring within the beseecher affects the outer conditions of fitness. Prayer endows the beseecher with better strength to rise from one level to the other, i.e from

the lower category to the higher one. This is how prayer brings about a change in the mind, spirit, resolution, goal,– and destiny. The Qur'an says:

وخلق كلّ شيءٍ فقدّرهٗ تقديرًا [47]

"He has created every thing and has meted out for it a measure."

The possibilities and properties of everything are its destiny. If the particles of dust are thin and weak they flee before a gust of wind and if they solidify they can even brave storms. This is so because their capacity is changed. Their first destiny was dustiness and second rockiness. There are manifold possibilities latent in the change in destiny. When a stone strikes against glass we can easily imagine what happens and if the same shatters into small tiny fragments, it is as good as dust.

The general properties of water are obvious; when it freezes at a certain temperature, its destiny is rock-like. When it evaporates, its destiny is air-like. When iron is fairly hot, it gives burns if touched; but when it is too hot it melts itself like wax. On the contrary, if wax is solidified, it has a stonelike destiny; it can be broken into pieces but cannot be moulded into desired forms. In short, time estimation, measurement, judgment and weighing of possibilities of things is to know their destiny and the change they undergo is a "change in destiny". The destinies of plants and animals are also manifold. But man has the will, intellect and freedom in far more measure than all other earthly things. He is susceptible to the effects of observation and experience and his superior knowledge of properties of things made angels bow before him and to prostrate. Despite the scope of his superior knowledge if he does not arrive at and choose better norms for himself, he will in fact be a failure in exploiting his destinal potentialities. Ibn Miskawaih observes:

فان الفرس اذا قصر عن كماله و لم يظهر افعاله الخاصة به على
افضل احوالها حط عن مرتبة الفروسية و استعمل بالاكاف كما تستعمل
الحمير وكذالك حال السيف وسائر الالات متى قصرت ونقصت افعاله
الخاصة بها حطت عن مراتبها واستعملت استعمال ما دونها [48]

"When the horse declines in its capabilities and does not perform the task which it ought to, then it is pack-saddled and used like a donkey. It is also true of sword as well as other instruments and weapons when they go below the norms of their peculiar functions, they decline in the scale of their existence and are then used as inferior things."

Horse in its essence is very magnificent for riding and it is a symbol of his master's esteem. But when it deteriorates in its performance, it is used to carry bricks, corn and debris. In other words, the destiny of the animal no longer was the destiny of a horse; it was now the destiny of a donkey. When a sword loses its peculiarity, it drifts into inferior implements like sickle. It is obvious that the destiny of a sword is different from that of a sickle. A man possessing a sword is a soldier, a *mujahid,* while he who possesses a sickle is a grass-cutter. A cow that grows dry is not taken care of like the one which is milked twice a day. And when there remains no hope of its again becoming a milch cow, it is disposed of to a butcher or it is yoked besides an ox for ploughing. Outwardly it remains a cow but its destiny changes into that of an ox. This is a common phenomenon in our villages.

In short, what we learn out of Iqbal's concept of *Taqdir,* a concept derived from the Qur'an as shown in the beginning of the chapter is that norms are open to us, which means that an infinite number of possibilities and destinies exist and we should choose our destinies sincerely and create in ourselves capabilities which our chosen destiny demands. There are better and still better destinies, and, therefore we should advance towards them and choose, seeking God's help, and praying for the change of destiny. In the words of Iqbal, "The ultimate aim of the ego is not to *see* something, but to *be* something."[49]

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IQBAL ON ADVANCEMENT SANS MORALS

Iqbal lived in an era of Change—a fast change. He saw the world shrinking tremendously. The Eastern Hemisphere looked whispering to the Western Hemisphere. The North Pole seemed nodding to the South Pole. Nations far away from one another appeared like neighbours at a dinner. Scientists were busily digging out Secrets of Nature. They felt the thrill of delight like conquerors. Fresh discoveries brought about new theories providing answers to many erstwhile conundrums. Invention followed invention. The whole world presented itself putting on the semblance of a Brave New World. Iqbal saw all this. He was pleased to see man's potentialities, unfolding themselves. But, at the same, he could not help feeling distressed. Why? Because manifold changes brought about by men had not changed man himself. He had essentially remained the same Homo Sapiens Man looked bent on knowing and solving the mysteries of everything in the universe save his own "self". Iqbal had a discerning eye. He had developed a minute sense of discrimination, proportion and decency to know what to accept and uphold and what to reject and condemn. He took in things with a highly receptive but independent mind. So he was also capable of unlearning what he felt was superfluous. To unlearn is obviously much more difficult than to learn. Iqbal, in the following couplet, makes this point manifest:

طلسم علم حاضر را شکستم
ربودم دانه و دامش گسستم
خدا داند که مانند براهیم
به نار او چه بے پروا نشستم![1]

> "I shattered the spell of contemporary learning. I picked up the grain and broke the threads of the net. God knows that I, like Prophet Ibrahim (may peace be on him), sat in the fire of this learning with perfect nonchalance."

Iqbal saw that tall the power which man had gained on account of technological development lay rooted in materialism. Natural sciences, as taught in the West, are neutral sciences, i.e. they have nothing to do with man as man. "Be a man" is neither their import nor purport, while for Iqbal without moral training human beings are less than human beings

They, in spite of all scientific, philosophic and literary accomplishments, inwardly can remain at a sub-human level. The apparent social evolution of the West if looked at with a critical eye, is the evolution of teachnology and not the progress of mankind. The culture resulting from the machine-atmosphere can hardly be called a moral culture. Machines are amoral. No doubt, the material advancement has provided mankind, and especially the West, with a lot of affluence enabling them to enjoy as much physical luxury as they can. They can stoop to any level of lasciviousness. Technology, moreover, can make them very powerful. But the West, for Iqbal, is like a savage playing with fireworks which could destroy anything including himself. For Iqbal human progress is in need of a culture based on moral values. Obviously evolution is not progress. Affluence does not necessarily denote inner refinement and decency of man. According to Iqbal, all the glitter of the West lay in the outer decoration, in haloed appearances, while spirit remained hollow. Iqbal says:

نظر کو خیرہ کرتی ہے چمک تہذیب حاضر کی
یہ صناعی مگر جھوٹے نگوں کی ریزہ کاری ہے ![2]

"The glamour of the contemporary civilization is dazzling to the eye. But all this show of art is the product of shoddy diamonds."

یہی زمانۂ حاضر کی کائنات ہے کیا؟
دماغ روشن و دل تیرہ و نگاہ بے باک ![3]

"Is it all the present era possesses? Enlightened brain, sombre soul, arrogant looks. (Present era means the contemporary West.)"

Here I quote Professor R.M. Meclver, one of the dedicated scholars in the field of Sociology. He says after discussing multiple social problems *vis-a-vis* the evolution in terms of modern scholarship in various fields of learing:

'We should not define social evolution as though it meant or implied progress. How far we find a correspondence between the direction of social evolution and the direction prescribed by our particular concept of social progress, is another matter. We may properly enquire into the relationship between the two. But it is possible to do so only if we define social evolution in ethically neutral terms."[4]

This shows that all the present-day advancement in different fields of knowledge can provide the "accomplished" Homo Sapiens with only

the material gains, neglecting their spiritual well-being. Besides, it provides them with much more effective weapons for all-round destruction. Savages armed with such weapons can play havoc with human societies, bringing about their own destruction too. Man is not a material existence only; he has something within him which is non-material. This is how Iqbal expalins this stance.

> "The unity called man is body when you look at it as acting in regard to what we call the external world; it is mind or soul when you look at it as acting in regard to the ultimate aim and ideal to such acting."[5]

Iqbal has laid stress on this point in his verses as well as prose writings. Hjs painful doubts went on growing in intensity with the passage of time. The uppish, haughty and cruel behaviour of the nations made powerful through technology added to his misgivings. He feared that nations that were drunk with power and were under the ruthless influence of affluence could not be persuaded to behave as human beings. To be human needs the awakening of some other faculty, i.e. the sence to evaluate each "self" as a Unity. First, one should know one's own "self," understanding its value as a man. Then and only then can one understand what the other selves are and why they should be considered equal to one's own "self" If a society consists of individuals who, as men, have no respect for men belonging to other societies, it means such callous individuals have no "selves". Selves are individual integrated wholes. Selves as unities feel akin to other "selves". Self-respect demands respect for every "self". Only an integrated self is a really conscious self. Dr. Radha Krishnan says :

> "The human individual is not a corpse added to a ghost (Epectetus) or s Soul plus an automaton (Descartes). It acts as a whole, and not with its dissociated parts."[6]

Man is one. No state of his is out of him. No action of his relates only to one or some parts of his person. Whatever he thinks, ventures and performs relates to him as a whole. In the words of Rollow May :

> "The action, like a dive into the water, is done by the whole person or not at all."[7]

It means the leaders of modern culture had to be taught that they besides their bodies, possess another element also which has manifestations quite different from those of the body. That is the soul-element. Body and soul together make an existence a unit. In this regard Iqbal says :

> "No doubt man has a spatial aspect; but this is not the only aspect of man. There are other aspects of man, such as evalua-

tion, the unitary character of purposive experience, and the pursuit of truth which science must necessarily exclude from its study, and the understanding of which requires categories other than those employed by science."[8]

These words explain vividly that in Iqbal's opinion, the contemporary scientific advancement was lopsided and through it man could not know of man. First of all one should know one's own "self" as a living and conscious oneness. In the followinng verse he elucidates the same idea :

تن و جاں را دو تا گفتن کلام است
تن و جاں را دو تا دیدن حرام است[9]

"To name body and soul separately is the requirement of speech. But to see (know) body and soul as separate entities is heresy."

And what is that soul? It is an aspect which cannot be explained except that it is a Divine spark in man. As Iqbal says :

ہے ذوقِ تجلی بھی اسی خاک میں پنہاں
غافل! تو نرا صاحبِ ادراک نہیں ہے![10]

"A spark of Divine light is also hidden within this clay (of your body). O ! you thoughtless person, you do not possess sense-perception only."

The overwhelming majority of the Western polyhistors had lost the very notion of that spark which lay dormant in the physical structures of human beings. As long as that fact was not recognized none could visualize man as a unity, a whole or in Iqbal's terminology, a "self". Man ignores this fact and degenerates into sub-human level of existence, in spite of all his scientific and literary accomplishments. Le Compte Du Nouy ends his book *Human Destiny* with these inspiring words which smack of lot of sympathy for his fellow beings.

"And let him [man] above all never forget that the divine spark is in him, and in him alone, and that he is free to disregard it or to come closer to God by showing eagerness to work with Him and for Him."

It is hard to bring about a change in inflexible and rigid behaviours. Spoiled tastes take long to give way to refined ones. It requires grim determination. Such determination follows conviction. A conviction's prere-

quisite is moral training. And the need for moral training cannot be sincerely felt unless one knows one's own "self" because man cannot have respect for his "self" without it. Once man begins to respect his own "self" he would begin to show the same regard to other "selves". The crux of all morale is man's respect for man. But the West had lost the "I". Where there is no "I," the why of morality is out of the question. According to Iqbal, the Western societies, as congregations of veritable worshippers of matter and material pleasures, could not reconcile themselves to a dispensation of convetousness, lust, selfishness and similar other modes of behaviour which eat into the "self" of individuals belonging to such societies. Therefore no good could one expect from them. Says Iqbal :

اہلِ نظر ہیں یورپ سے نومید
ان امتوں کے باطن نہیں پاک! [11]

> "Those who have vision are despaired of the West because the very soul of Western nations is corrupt."

The same disturst in the defiled culture-pattern of the West is made manifest in the following verses :

فسادِ قلب و نظر ہے فرنگ کی تہذیب
کہ روح اس مدنیت کی رہ سکی نہ عفیف!
رہے نہ روح میں پاکیزگی تو ہے ناپید
ضمیرِ پاک و خیالِ بلند و ذوقِ لطیف! [12]

> "The Western culture depraves vision as well as soul for the spirit of this culture has lost piety. If piety is lost to the spirit, then purity of conscience, high thinking and refined tastes disappear altoghether."

The same theme can be felt throbbing in the following words of Iqbal :

> "Believe me, Europe to-day is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement." [13]

And, again, the same sonorous note, but alongwith some suggestions:

> "The modern man stands in need of biological renewal. And religon, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor

priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition, and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflicts of religious and political values."[14]

But the latent difficulty is still there and Iqbal, like ancient sages, here and there, goes on urging "know thyself". The failure of all attempts to reform man and to teach him a moral behaviour is due to wrong methods of approach. "All distinctly philosophical problems have ultimate solution in the self, but, unfortunately, it is this very self which is still ignored."[15] No doubt to be efficient one has to take the trouble of understanding one's job. The same method of approach was adopted by Socrates. His arguments were simple and did not appear to be philosophical. He would say, if you want to be a good shoemakers, the first thing necessary is to know what a shoe is and what it is meant for. It is no use trying to decide on the best sort of tools and material, and the best methods of using them unless you first formed in your mind a clear and detailed idea of what it is you are setting out to produce and what function it will have to perform.[16]

Obviously the theoretical knowledge of shoe-making is not going to mould an individual into a shoe-maker. Similarly, to inculcate "manhood" in a Homo Sapiens, it will not be sufficient to listen to sermons on ethics or to study volumes on morality. Knowledge can add to knowledge only. To know what morality is, is one thing, while to practise morality is quite another. It is hard to endorse the oft-quoted view of Socrates that no one does wrong willingly. Vice is due to ignorance. Where is people know vice and yet indulge in every sort of vice. They even murder people for petty selfish motives. They murder themselves over trifles and they know it. Criminals have always been punished in organized societies where the rule of law was in vogue. Punishments have been taking place even in public places to deter the temptations to commit crimes. This shows that morality or sense of moral values cannot be imposed from outside.

Law can punish the wrongdoers. Administration of justice can deter the intending culprits, but it cannot reform them. Punishments, howsoever severe, cannot root out vice. Whenever ther is a chance to hoodwink the authorities concerned or to defeat their enforcement staff, the criminal or vicious self of man girates to its animality. Similarly fruitless are the seminars and debates held on related topics. Their impact is slight. In the

words of Rollow May : "There is even something wrong in the phrase 'discussion of values,' one never receives one's conviction about values through intellectual debates."[17] Change must occur in the soul of man.

It is the will to change that changes the outlook and behaviour. It is the will to counter that counters the temptations. But will without the support of belief in something higher and more sublime cannot withstand the pull towards carnality and depravity. Strength of reason stands no chance, as temptations may stealthily and slyly win over reason to its side. The result would be the submission of reason to temptation. It is the daily phenomenon faced by "feeble-willed" rationalists. Reason not only submits to the demands of the flesh; it rather begins to spin arguments in favour of doing what should not have been done. Every temptation has its logic and that logic at times is very cool. It means rational will has feet of clay. It is the conviction that stands undaunted and does not cave in before sensual. pressures. It is, in fact, conviction that serves as the pivotal point for will to act and react and withstand temptation. Without convicition, will is just a passing shadow. Such wills are akin to fits. They come and go. They are not to stay. How dependence on a rational will is an unreliable support, is explained by William Temple in rather strong words :

> "We totally misconceive alike the philosophical and the practical problem of evil if we picture it as the winning of control over lawless and therefore evil passions by a righteous but insufficiently powerful reason or spirit. It is the spirit which is perverted; it is aspiration which is corrupt."[18]

In this regard Iqbal says :

یقیں مثلِ خلیل آتش نشینی!
یقیں اللہ مستی، خود گزینی!
سن اے تہذیبِ حاضر کے گرفتار
غلامی سے بدتر ہے بے یقینی! [19]

> "Conviction means to sit in flames like Prophet Ibrahim. Conviction means to be God-centred and yet self-preserving. Listen to me, ye who are enticed by the contemporary (Western) civilization: to be without conviction is to be worse than slaves."

Iqbal goes a step further. He believes that a convictionless learned person is far worse than the one who is illiterate. Knowledge is power and

when it is given to an agent who is not tamed by the whip of morality, it becomes cruel. An illiterate person has a narrow field of action because he has a narrow field of thought, whereas the scope of doing evil widens according to the area of accomplishments of a person of learning, if the spirit, the will or reason of such a person is vicious. Such a person can devise more subtle and more relentless methods of doing harm and committing crimes. Iqbal maintains :

علم را بے سوزِ دل خوانی شر است
نورِ او تاریکیٔ بحر و بر است![20]

"You obtain knowledge without the warmth of your soul, therefore it becomes evil and, although knowledge is light, yet for you it is a darkness encompassing earth and oceans."

Similarly, at another place he lays down as follows :

ہزار بار نکوتر متاعِ بے بصری
ز دانشے کہ دلِ او را نمی کند تصدیق[21]

"The stock of blindness is thousand times better than the knowledge which is not endorsed by soul."

One may accept, rather support, some good idea or some good action, but still it would not mean that such a one would also act accordingly. An individual's considered good act shows that he had a taste for it. He had been trained that way. He inwardly had become attuned to the nature of that particular act. His sincerity lies in his persistence in doing good with pleasure and fondness. His fond inclination towards an idea, an object and a deed in a way can be taken as an external aspect of its internal impact. Hence says Dr. Radhakrishnan :

> 'We understand an object only when there is something in us akin to it. When any picture or poem or life produces in us a wonderful effect, we may be sure that there is an interior responding wonder that meets it."[22]

A society is good if the overwhelming majority of its individuals is diligently and fondly good, if they are brought up consciously and taught and trained accordingly.

Back to the individual. It is the individual who is the starting point for a society to come about. Mustafa al-Siba'i supports me on this point with his belief that it is not the society that reforms the individual, it is

rather the other way round. Culture emanates from individuals and proceeds to masses and not vice versa.[23]

First it is always the self and then come the "selves". Therefore accountability begins with persons and then falls upon societies. Everyone has to feel as a responsible member of a society he is related to. No alive society, in the present era, is an isolated society, hence every conscious individual should act as a responsible citizen of the world of man altogether. Still the difficulty is that no. individual as such can ever be visualized without visualizing a society. Individuals form and strengthen societies while societies produce individuals.

Civilization is rooted in man's dependence on man, howsoever slight the dependence and in whatsoever shape. Therefore socialogy has much closer bond with the individuals and societies alongwith the environmental effect than history which in principle has almost similar purpose but throws light on and studies social problems from a distance. It is obvious that the process of man's dependence on man grows in proportion to the growth of society. It is, therefore, essential for a society to possess some working standards of behaviour or, we may say, rules of conduct. Every individual cannot be allowed to have his own way at any level of society even if it be a small family.

A society nurtures its members and provides them opportunities to unfold their inherent qualities. It liberates them in many ways but at the same time it imposes on them some limits too. It provides them with means to rid themselves of animal-like self-centredness if they so desire. It bids them to attain manhood to a degree as higher as possible. And it forbids them to cross limits. So that they do not do harm to their own selves as also to others. Any member of a society who wrongs himself indirectly wrongs the society he is related to. Similarly, a society teaches its members to respect the limits of others. Limits are not to be violated, be they personal or social. In fact, the working standards or rules of conduct serve as its regulating factors. At different stages of a society's development these regulators assume different names. They are called customs, folkways, mores, ethics, etc. In short, the individual moods, slowly and slowly, evolve into social modes, If there be no such regulators or if they are not abided by, the result would be the disintegration of the society or societies concerned. Individuals automatically would scatter and die out. Thomas A. Harris illustrates this stance in his own simple but instructive style :

"I am a person. You are a person. Without you I am not a person, for only through you is language made possible and only through language is thought made posssible and through thought humaneness

made possible. You have made me important, therefore I am important and you are important. If I devalue you I devalue myself. This is the rational position of 'I'M OK—YOU'RE OK,' through this positon are we persons instead of things. Returning man to his rightful place of personhood is the theme of redemption or reconciliation or enlightenment, central to all of the great world religions. The requirement of this position is that we are responsible to and for one another, and this responsibility is the ultimate clain on all men alike. This first inference we can draw is DO NOT KILL ONE ANOTHER."[24]

In this regard a few verses by Iqbal are being noted down here :

فرد را ربطِ جماعت رحمت است
جوہرِ او را کمال از ملت است

فرد و قوم آئینۂ یک دیگر اند
سلک و گوہر کہکشان و اختر اند
فرد می گیرد ز ملّت احترام
ملت از افراد می یابد نظام

در دِلش ذوقِ نمو از ملت است
احتسابِ کارِ او از ملت است

در زبانِ قوم گویا می شود
بر رہِ اسلاف پویا می شود
فرد تنہا از مقاصد غافل است
قوتش آشفتگی را مائل است

در جماعت خود شکن گردد خودی
تا ز گلبرگے چمن گردد خودی [25]

"Relation with Society is a blessing for the individual because his potentialities attain perfection through it. . . . .
An individual and society are mirrors to each other. It is like the relationship of emeralds and thread, the stars and the galaxy . . . .
An individual is respectable because of society. A society possesses

discipline and decorum on account of individuals . . . .
In his heart the taste for self-exposition is planted by society and the survey of his deeds is possible in society only . . . .
An individual learns to speak in the language of society and follows the footprints of his forebears . . . .
A lonely person remains ignorant of goals (and achievements). His strength tends towards dispersal . . . .
Self learns to make sacrifice in a society, this can be likened to a rose-petal spreading into a garden."

Therefore it is the bounden duty of an individual to be always conscious, vigilant and efficient, ever ready, up and doing. He should every day, rather every hour, assess his behaviour, action and the quantum of achievement. Life is not for rest or for pleasure. It is for achievement. Man's pace of progress as a human being, who feels his responsibility to his own self, to his family and his society and to God in the best manner possible slowly and slowly, builds himself into a great man. Such great men are the real wealth of a nation. "Not wealth but only men can make a nation great and strong." If a man is conscious of his callings, he lives; if not, he does exist but does not live. To exist only, without being alive is for a human being to co-exist with animals and things. The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) has laid down for every man keenly to examine his day-to-day performance :

من استوی یوماه فهو مغبون، ومن کان امسه خیرا من یومه فهو محروم[26]

"He whose two days are equal has lost something and he whose yesterday was better than his today, his fortune is deprivation."

And through perpetual self-assessment an individual's "today" partakes in the today of the society concerned. Through society it affects the today of humanity at large. Humanity in its turn is the soul of the world. For Pythagoras every human being was microcosm, i.e. a universe in miniature. Liebniz goes much farther. For him each living thing is a perpetual living mirror of the universe. According to him, everybody in the universe feels the effect of all that takes place in it. He says nothing in the universe is obsolete, uncalled for or dead. If that be the case, then man's accountability becomes tremendously acute, a million times more acute than all other existences. In this regard Iqbal says :

"Reality is, therefore, essentially spirit. But, of course, there are degrees of spirit . . . . Throughout entire gamnt of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man. . . . . . .

Only that is, strictly speaking, real which is directly conscious of its own reality. The degree of reality varies with the degree of the feeling of egohood."[27]

But the problem as stated above is that for man to achieve perfect egohood is tremendously difficult. His essence is no doubt spirit, but his outer structure which is tangible to sense perception is material. Both have different pulls. Souls act according to the laws of final causes through appetitions, ends and means, while bodies act according to the laws of efficient causes or motions. On the one side is the faculty of reason which is capable of reaching the stage of intuition. For this faculty truth and falsehood, good and evil, stand apart. For a spirit trained in morals, the process of discrimination becomes spontaneous. But this spiritual progress or moral training and its path to success is barricaded here and there by the variegated mundane claims of the body. In this context William James explains : "The man's interior is a battleground for what he feels to be deadly hostile selves, one actual, the other ideal" and then he quotes Saint Paul : "What I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.' "[28]

As long as the conflict between the actual and the ideal states goes on, man remains a man. He may not achieve perfect manhood, yet, unless he surrenders before carnal ambitions, he does not stoop to animal level. The real anxiety and frustration begins to show itself at individual as well as social level, only when persons completely yield to the carnal calls. Amoral and immoral, life deprives man of his vitality as a man. It eats into his potentialities. And if individual's non-moral or immoral moods become social modes and no ratification or reform takes place to replenish the society concerned, it would not last long. Individual lapses, to a certain extent, can be ignored, but collective lapses which become the rule inevitably collide with the Laws of Nature and are dealt with properly. In the words of Iqbal :

فطرت افراد سے اغماض بھی کر لیتی ہے
کبھی کرتی نہیں ملت کے گناہوں کو معاف![29]

"Nature at times ignores individual vagaries but the collective sins of a society are never forgiven."

The above verse seems to be the translation of the following prose :

"It is one of the most essential teachings of the Holy Qur'an that nations are collectively judged, and suffer for their misdeeds here and now. In order to establish this proposition the Qur an constantly cites historical instances, and urges upon the reader to reflect on the past and present experience of mankind."[30]

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IQBAL AND REALISATION OF SELF

All egos should be well-meaning, powerful and self-preserving. But alongwith individual interests and ambitions the collective well-being should always be a conscious regulating principle. For that purpose sacrifice in its fullest significance is required from every individual. Should self-interest become the be-all and the end-all of every person, then anarchy must enter into the collective life phenomenon to play its role. The result hardly needs any explanation.

Animals possess no such faculties of choice The mode of their existence is preordained. They do not leave conflicts between "dos" and "don'ts". They have instincts, with fixed limits, for their play.Therefore they feel pangs of conflicts neither within nor without. They keep peace with their environments. They do not posses the will to conquer their surroundings. The case of man is quite the contrary. He has instincts and they are his useful tools and engines. But to prevent instincts from running riot he has been given reason too. And where reason fails conviction steps in to guide him and provide him with unfailing strength to stand and withstand. To maintain balance in his life is his own responsibility. This responsibility in a way is a great Trust reposed in man by his Creator. This very Trust becomes the greatest risk if balance is lost. In this regard says Willam Temple:

> "The point which here concerns is this. Mind arises within the world process, one of its episodes; but it is a peculiar episode in two ways. First it is peculiar because it is able to take the process in which it occurs within the embrace of its awareness and its comprehension. Viewed from one standpoint, a man is a strifling occurrence, a midget breathing and moving for a brief span in one corner of universe over-whelmingly vast. Viewed from another standpoint, he is himself the master of that universe, able to comprehend it as it can never comprehend him and bending the mighty forces of nature to serve his purpose." [1]

Lines penned above relate to the Trust reposed in man by his Creator. Now we come to the Risk, and here again we quote William Temple:

> "The human mind is a focus of appreciation. It has knowledge of good and evil. The winning of that knowledge is called the Fall of Man, because acts, which before he won it were merely instinctive reaction to environment, became through that knowledge sins against

the light. Again, because they are done against the light, they are done with a new degree of self-assertion. And once more because imagination is so potent to stimulate desire, there is an additional impulse to those so far he is evil is worse than any animal; and in every man there is the bias or tendency to evil. "[2]

Man was given "knowledge" as well as "mind". This equipped him with the talent for distinguishing good from evil. To be in possession of this talent is the main distinction of man amongst all creatures. He can choose for himself what he desires and is reposnible for this choice, be it good or otherwise. Herein lies his affliction. If he is not brought up as a balanced human being and if he does not maintain the balance, he is bound to fall down to the sub-human level which is akin to animal stage. Obviously an animal with the imagination and creative abilities of man can do harm and spread vice to such an extent as no animal of whatever strength can ever do. Every animal has its limits. From ant to elephant every animal has to remain true to its peculiar kind of animality and hence within reliable limits. Its behaviour is almost always predictable; therefore, it can be dealt with accordingly. But can the behaviour of an intelligent, talented, learned and sophisticated person be predicted if he is bent upon dong mischief? If a man inwardly becomes a wolf, then who can ward him off and deal with him easily as one can deal with a real and pure-bred wolf who does not bear human shape and is not clad in human skin? A man turned a wolf puts his wolfishness to play, supported by man's intelligent art and skill. That is why a man, as stated above in the words of William Temple, is more vicious than any animal. The Holy Qur'an, in this regard, declares:

ان شرّ الدّوآبّ عندالله الصمّ البكم الّذين لا يعقلون [3]

"For God the worst of all beasts are the deaf and dumb human beings who understand not."

They are in fact neither deaf nor dumb. They are called as such because they are deaf to counsel and dumb in expressing the truth. They refuse to understand that they possess human qualities but do not put them to use as responsible individuals.

A human being not aware of his status and significance as a human being can hardly be capable of attaching any value to any other human entity. Even the nearest blood-relationship loses all importance. If that be the attitude, then, to regard all human beings as members of one family or as components of one whole, is a far cry. Wherever and whenever life begins to look as a sheer absurdity, suicides increase. Increase in suicide

indicates increase in murders, robbery, kidnapping and assaulting. All other "niceties" attendant upon it inevitably follow. Some proponents of Marxism advertise these and many other nefarious exercises as the result of class distinction. Crime is classless. It is not always only the poor or only the rich who commit suicide. It is not the needy who murder. It is not always the destitute who commit robbery. Tendencies for such commission observe no colour, class or race distinction. A human being who girates to animality or who is not brought up as a morally conscious person may indulge in any anti-social activity irrespective of the class he belongs to. No doubt a resourceful criminal is much more dangerous than the one who is resourceless. But it is not the extent of the damage done that matters; it is in fact the intent to do damage. Crime committed on account of poverty is comparatively far less dangerous than the cirme committed on account of opulence because opulence can furnish the cirminal such horrible devices that a poor cirminal simply cannot afford to employ. But the question still is not the extent of crime; it is, on the other hand, the intent to commit crime. It means the root cause is the animality of man. As long as man's animal instincts are not tamed by true education by which I mean moral training, his animality must show up, now and then. According to Khalifa Abdul Hakim.

> "What is porhibited is transgression and not the functioning of instincts. Morality is nothing but their right functioning; if they are suppressed, virtue becomes empty."[4]

From amongst the literate we can find easily a good number of those who, in the conceit of their intellectual maturity, would laugh at the very notion or idea of morality, declaring moral principles akin to "taboos". They take pride in having "liberated" themselves from the captivity of conventionally overpowering "taboos". In reality all curbs on their animal lusts are termed by them as "taboos". They do not understand the fact that they have not liberated themselves, rather they have delivered themselves into the slavery of untamed and insatiable instincts which education in moral principles tries to keep within limits and hence aims at pulling these enlightened libertines out of the animal level. They refuse to be pulled out. Instead, they surrender to the baser elements of their being under the cover of enlightenment.

Iqbal says:

مجھے تہذیبِ حاضر نے عطا کی ہے وہ آزادی!
کہ ظاہر میں تو آزادی ہے، باطن میں گرفتاری![5]

"The contemporary culture has granted me a liberty which looks like liberty. In reality it is nothing but captivity."

In this verse Iqbal neither alludes to political dominance of the West, nor does he refer to political freedom. He alludes to this false sense of personal liberty which in reality is freedom from ethical and moral principles. It is freedom from every discipline that tries to see man behave as man and does not like to see him stoop to the level of amoral bipeds in the clutches of raw instincts. A great majority of these moral phobiacs is highly literate. Amongst them are the holders of high academic degrees, including doctorates in philosophy, psychology, literature, history, technology, medicine and what not. Certainly these "enlightened abstractions" are widely read and well informed. What they do not know of is the "why" of education in its relation to man as a man. They may look as human beings, may appear in finely cut and gracefully tailored uniforms, with bewitching smiles on their faces, with seemingly refined etiquette and captivating courtesy, yet they are dead as human beings. They are driven by their beastly desires. They do not know they have a particle of Divine Light also within them. This atom of the divinity, if neglected, becomes dim by the passage ot time, which means that man's existence loses balance altogether. Nothing is left but the breathing clay. How aptly says Iqbal:

ولے چوں صحبتِ گل می پذیرد
ہماں دم لذتِ خوابش بگیرد
شود بیدار چوں من آفریند
چوں من محکومِ تن گردد بمیرد [6]

"A spirit which accepts clay as an associate, begins to take pleasure in sleep without delay.

It wakes up wherever it creates the 'self'. But when the self becomes a slave to the body, the spirit dies out."

This shows that a man may appear as an embodiment of culture. He may actually be a great scholar. He may even be in a position to quote philosophers, sages and prophets, yet it does not prove him to be a gentleman. A man can simultaneously be a tower of knowledge and a deep dark ditch in respect of character. It is quite possible. Le Compte Du Nouy observes and very rightly so:

"Man must liberate himself from a bondage which is normal for

animals and therefore evil for him. The soul of man demands a complete mastery over the flesh."[7]

Anyway the Divine Spark kept hidden behind black curtains of flesh deprives man of spiritual elevation. And when the spiritual light grows dim the body turns into a mere machine or a biological organism or a heap of clay, -a breathing heap of clay you may say. Iqbal observes:

بہ آں مومن خدا کارے ندارد
کہ در تن جانِ بیدارے ندارد [8]

"God has nothing to do with a believer who does not possess an efficient and conscious spirit in his body."

In the same context he remarks: "But there are degrees in the expression of egohood, and then explains'[9]: "Only that is, strictly speaking, real which is directly conscious of its own reality."[10]

The remedy is that human beings should be made conscious of their selves. They should know that they are not made of matter only. The Qur'an says:

خلقناکم ثمّ صوّرناکم [11]

"We created you and then We gave you shape."

This shows and very clearly too that the essence of man's being is spiritual. All faculties of man must relate to his spirit – his will, his choice, his sense of proportion, his imagination and his consciousness in respect of good and evil. T.H. Green raises the question "whether a being that was merely the result of natural forces could form a theory of those forces explaining himself." And proceeding further, he explains: "The divine consciousness reporduces itself in man using feeling and sensation to objectify itself there. The reproduction takes place piecemeal and by degrees because its vehicle is a part of nature . . . But though our knowledge is partial , it is nevertheless identical in essence with the eternal consciousness which it reproduces . . . He alone of all natural creatures is a self, able to stand apart from the world and, by virtue of the fragment of divinity which is in him, subdue nature and have dominion over it. In addition to understanding he has the capacity to will and the world appears to him not merely for what it is but also for what it should be."[12]

How could man become capable of analysing nature if he was nothing but a part of nature ? Only his body, i.e. the material self of his being,

belongs to natural material elements and hence obeys the laws of nature. But his spiritual self stands apart and tries to subdue nature and its compelling forces. Nature does not discover and analyse nature. It only manifests itself to a being who carries something in him which can discover, understand, analyse, elaborate on it in laboratories and then can propound theories, ideas, rules and laws. Should not that thing try hard to free itself from the dominance of his material self as far as it may be profitably possible. It is possible only if and until the divine spark within a man remains aglow and maintains its connection with its origin which is "all illumination". The misfortune with contemporary Western science, philosophy and art is that they have become lopsided. Scholars in their respective fields of knowledge are absorbed in subjugating natural forces more and more and are turning their back on the spiritual side of man. Therefore man's faculties that deal with his spiritual side have not progressed during the present era. They are dormant but not dead. They are waiting for the moment when they are required to awake and are asked to play their part in the reconstruction of man. •

But man is not his own creator. It is not he who gave himself shape. If this be true, man cannot be his own analyst and similarly his own guide. Only the Creator knows man's nature. All the components and potentialities of man's existence are also the creations of the same Omniscient Creator Who created man and the universe in which man lives. As the universe is not multiverse, therefore every existence in the universe must also be a unity. From an atom to the biggest imaginable planet, howsoever a complex existence it may be, cannot be more than one as a self. The reality of the universe as a single whole cannot be closely felt through philosophical theories. In the same manner, it is beyond the scope of a scientific laboratory to make the experiment or understand the oneness of the universe. It can be comprehended only intuitively through strong belief in One God. From One God unities emanate. Here we have what Iqbal says about philosophy's incompetence pertaining to the knowledge of things around:

> "Philosophy is an intellectual view of things; and as such, does not care to go beyond a concept which can reduce all rich variety of experience to a system. It sees Reality from a distance as it were."[13]

And now his opinion about the scope of natural sciences regarding knowledge of realities converging into one big unity, i.e. the universe:

> "Natural Science deals with matter, with life, and with mind; but the moment you ask the question how matter, life, and mind are mutually related, you begin to see the sectional character of the

various sciences that deal with them and the inability of these sciences, taken singly, to furnish a complete answer to your question. In fact, the various natural sciences are like so many vultures falling on the dead body of Nature, and each running away with a piece of its flesh."[14]

Surely for Iqbal it is neither philosophy nor natural sciences which can furnish required competence for the apprehension of Reality. For Iqbal it is religion that makes us capable of getting at it:

"Religion seeks a closer contact with Reality. The one [philosophy] is theory; the other is living experience, association, intimacy. In order to achieve this intimacy thought must rise higher than itself, and find its fulfilment in an attitude of mind which religion describes as prayer—one of the last words on the lips of the Prophet of Islam."[15]

Man within himself has also to attain unity without which he cannot comprehend the universe as a single whole. It is man who possesses a particle of divinity in him; therefore, if he becomes conscious of his self he can attain unity which, in other words, would be his self-realization. Man's physical growth, as compared to other animals, is very slow. His mental and spiritual growth is slower still. This means the period of animality in his span of life is comparatively longer. But though a slow developer, his upper reach is highest of all other living entities. He begins as an animal, that goes without saying. The question is whether the low start of man renders him incapable of getting to the highest station in the universe, no doubt, after God. Iqbal explains thus:

"The fact that the higher emerges out of the lower does not rob the higher of its worth and dignity. It is not the origin of a thing that matters; it is the capacity, the significance, and the final reach of the emergent that matters . . . Indeed the evolution of life shows that though in the beginning the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental, as it grows in power, tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence."[16]

The position of independence is in reality the dominance of soul over the body; in other words, the spark of divinity in man gains the upper hand enabling man to be nearer to God and through God be in a position to look upon and into the world with a discerning and penetrating eye. That eye can see things which otherwise remain hidden.

The Qur'an says:

[17] اللہ نور السموات والارض

"God is the Light of heavens and earth."

In the light of these words of the Qur'an, Iqbal remarks

"Thus, in the world of change, light is the nearest approach to the Absolute."[18]

The following two verses contain and explain the same point but in an extremely remarkable poetic art that captivates and convinces the soul before taking intellect into confidence:

جہاں میں دانش و بینش کی ہے کس درجہ ارزانی
کوئی شے چھپ نہیں سکتی کہ یہ عالم ہے نورانی

کوئی دیکھے تو ہے باریک فطرت کا حجاب اتنا
نمایاں ہیں فرشتوں کے تبسم ہائے پنہانی[19]

"How easily available is wisdom and understanding in the world!
Nothing can remain hidden because this universe is luminous.

If one really can see, one will find the curtain of nature so refined
that even the hidden smiles of angels are quite visible."

But can a human being left to himself and supported by his own physical and mental capabilities without divine guidance reach the level of manhood in the real sense of the word? Iqbal says No. For Iqbal it is the Divine Law which is to be followed, otherwise man cannot grow into a self-conscious and well-balanced whole, progressing mentally as well as spiritually. The Qur'an lays down:

[20] فطرۃ اللہ التی فطر الناس علیہا

Iqbal translates as "the Habit of God" and explains it in the following words:

"From the human point of view it is an interpretation which in our present situation, we put on the creativity of the Absolute Ego."[21]

It is God Who created things and it is He Who directs everything to realize itself fully. In this regard Iqbal refers to the verse of the Holy Qur'an:

له الخلق والامر [22]

"It is He Who created and it is He Who directs."

It is obvious that man, body and soul have to pull together. Both the entities have to grow in strength and have also to cooperate harmoniously for strengthening the personality of an individual. These two separate etities are created in a manner that the one needs the other. Tnis is how Iqbal puts it:

> "[Body is a] system of experiences [and what] we call soul or ego is also a system of acts. This does not obliterate the distinction of soul and body; it only brings them closer to each other."[23]

Now what is required is the good of both body and soul. How to make one grow and the other progress in the best harmony ? What is good for both ? Iqbal refers to the words of God:

بيدك الخير [24]

and explains them thus :

> ". . . the Qur'an conceives God as 'holding all goodness in His hands'. "[25]

Here I would not dwell on the problem of evil, pain, suffering and "wrongdoing" rampant in the world. That is another and a separate subject. The problem I intend to deal with, is the practical method of achieving a self, a human existence realizing its full ego and becoming really one, a single whole.

F.H. Bradley explains it thus: "Are we not forced to look on the self as a whole, which is not merely the sum of its parts? And must we not say that to realize self is always to realize a whole, and that the question in morals is to find the true whole, realizing which will practically realize the true self." [26]

Referring to what Iqbal called the "Habit of God," one can interpret the words بيدك الخير and their translation as given by Iqbal that " all goodness rests in the hands of God". The interpretation would be that every deed done according to the Habit of God which is the Divine Law laid down in the Holy Qur'an, is good, and whatever is done contrary to the teachings of the Book is off the right path; hence not good.

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IQBAL ON MAN'S QUEST FOR THE OBJECT WORTHY OF HUMAN WORSHIP

It is in man's nature to feel that he lacks something within him with out which he is not complete. Some painful sense of loneliness urges man to find out something higher to look up to and love. And for this inner thirst he tries to look humble before someone or something he falls in love with. After all, what makes a man bow before even an idol made of clay, wood, stone or metal ? Man's search for someone higher than himself for his own sake is a pull ingrained in him. Man tries to show respect to and obey someone's orders; he even seeks rebukes and threats. This is man's spiritual hunger. Slowly and gradually man's search for a better object of love and adoration makes him rise to celestial heights. Iqbal says:

چہ کنم کہ فطرتِ من بہ مقام در نسازد
دلِ ناصبور دارم چوں صبا بہ لالہ زارے
چو نظر قرار گیرد بہ نگارِ خوبروئے
تپد آں زماں دلِ من پئے خوب تر نگارے
ز شرر ستارہ جویم، ز ستارہ آفتابے
سرِ منزلے ندارم کہ بمیرم از قرارے

طلبم نہایتِ آں کہ نہایتے ندارد
بہ نگاہ ناشکیبے بہ دلِ امیدوارے [1]

What to do? My nature cannot reconcile to remaining content with one place and station. I have a restless soul which is like the morning breeze blowing in a garden of tulips.

As soon as my eyes fall upon a beautiful beloved, my heart begins to yearn for some more good-looking object of love.

I have the spark for a star and from the star I pass on to the sun. I have no destination before me to stay at, for if I stay, I die . . .

I want to know the remotest limits of the One Who is limitless. I crave for this with an impatient glance and with a heart full of hope."

This search for the good and high and then proceeding on to the best and the highest is the trait of every human soul. As already said, this thirst and craving is inborn which makes man feel lonely and impels him to try his potentialities in doing away with that sense of loneliness or incompleteness. A heart that once becomes really conscious of this state of deficiency to be made good can never feel satisfied with anything save in the love abode of the highest, the most Graceful and Almighty. If that sort of spiritual proximity to Divine Grace is not granted to a restless soul or attained by the same, then the possibility of losing senses is not a remote one. But this dangerous sequence is the lot of only those sensitive souls who become aware of their state of incompleteness and who consciously begin to yearn for a soul brighter and higher in all respects. Nietzsche's painful, rather tragic, doom was the result of the same sense of remoteness from someone whose clear notion he failed to have. Iqbal felt sorry for Nietzsche. He states:

> "And the irony of fate is that this man [Nietzsche], who appeared to his friends 'as if he had come from a country where no man lived,' was fully conscious of his great spiritual need: 'I confront alone,' he [Nietzsche] says, 'an immense problem: it is as if I am lost in a forest, a primeval one. I need help. I need disciples: I need a *master*. It would be so sweet to obey.' And again: "Why do I not find among the living men who see higher than I do and have to look down on me? Is it only that I have made a poor search? And I have so great a longing for such." [2]

Iqbal felt sorry over Nietzsche's deprivation and sense of having failed to visualize Allah. He was in fact driven to that highly painful pitch by the idea of an impotent Greek God and the God of the humble as preached by the Christian Churchmen. Among men he could find none who was better endowed than him in respect of spiritual faculties and who could show him what real manliness meant. Nietzsche remained in search of a man, a real man, and not an apish two-legged being, with no vigorous personality. He was fed up with the ape-men of his age; hence he hankered after a superman. He could never believe in man being the best of God's creatures. Disgusted with worthless homo sapiens, he becomes bored with the idea of God Himself Who created them. Man as a supreme creation had no credit with him; therefore nobody could tell him that his need was not the superman but the best man of the world of human beings, past, present and future. He could be saved from the unbearable pangs of his despair with man, only if he could get somebody who could guide him to the life-giving spiritual presence of the Perfect Man. Only an all-benevolent Perfect Man could have enabled him to recognise the Omnipotent God, Who willed and all was done. But the tragedy was that no such master was there to put

Nietzsche on the straight path of perfect manhood and God. Iqbal felt deeply the spiritual sorrows and tribulations of Nietzsche. This is why he said:

اگر ہوتا وہ مجذوب فرنگی اس زمانے میں
تو اقبال اس کو سمجھاتا کہ مقامِ کبریا کیا ہے[3]

> "Had that possessed dervish of the West been alive these days, Iqbal would have made him understand the meanings of God's Majesty."

In trying to attain his uppermost ceiling, to fulfil his inborn need and to make good the deficiency felt so keenly by the man who becomes conscious of all this want, it is necessary for such a man to imbibe certain specific traits and characteristics. That he can do. He is made like that, the only condition being the maintenance of proportion between his physical and spiritual pulls. The Holy Prophet has directed the human beings to adopt the Habits of Allah, meaning that man's behaviour, outlook, aptitude and actions must reflect something, gracefully Divine. This is what تخلقوا بأخلاق الله[4] signifies.

For this purpose man is in dire need of a discipline, exercise and a way of life that could mould him into an individual capable of realizing his self. A self, realized, means a personality in which soul has attained dominance over the body, harnessing all powerful instinctive pulls to work in palpable harmony. This discipline, exercise and way of life is the *Shari'ah* i.e. the Islamic Code of Life, as enjoined by the Qur'an and practised in the best manner by the Holy Prophet. This *Shari'ah* according to Shah Wali Ullah, is the need of man himself, for he cannot attain real manhood without it. Shah Wali Ullah's illustration of this instance has been given by G.N. Jalbani as under :

> "Shah Sahib differed from his contemporaries, both Sufis and dialectitions . . . . The former asserted that the real aim in life was self-annihilation and attainment of permanency. The duties imposed by the *Shari'ah* were actually meant for the realization of this aim. As the achievement of it was not possible for everyone, the success of a few would suffice. The latter, on the other hand, were of the view that *Shari'ah* was, in fact' the real aim of life. He on the contrary, was of the opinion that in regard to the specific form of man, the *Shari'ah* alone was the very purpose of his life. In other words, it was the very requirement of his nature. It had not been thrust upon him but had been given to him at his request. Consequently, the commandment of the *Shari,ah*, which is the requirement of man's specific form, is applicable to all human beings, and is inclusive of all the human individuals, as humanity penetrates all of

them. Individual qualities of a few persons are out of consideration here.

"As a matter of fact, the people were fain dominated by the self-commanding Evil *(an-Nafs-ul-Ammarah)*, and if they had been left to die in that condition, they could not have escaped the sufferings of the life after death. Thus, in order to avert those sufferings from them, God, the Gracious, out of His sheer kindness, sent through His messengers a remedial measure, namely "the *Shari'ah*."[5]

The long quotation given above, was trnslated by Mr. Jalbani from Shah Wali Ullah's *Wasiyyat Namah*. pp. 24-25 and 89-90. Shah Wali Ullah has always been held in the highest esteem by Iqbal as is abvious from his letters, statements and the *Reconstruction*. In the *Reconstruction* he refers to Shah Sahib in these words:

"The task before the modern Muslim is, therefore, immense. He has to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past. Perhaps the first Muslim who left the urge of a new spirit in him was Shah Wali Ullah of Delhi."[6]

What has been quoted from Shah Sahib's view of the *Shari'ah* is in conformity with what Iqbal himself believes to be, i.e. it is the need of man and the Almighty Lord has been gracious with man to have bestowed this boon on him enabling him to try for the attainment of perfect manhood.

Man cannot peep into the deep recesses of his psyche which establishes its relations through internal invisible physical and spiritual tunnels with his remote forebears. Moreover, as already stressed, the most significant point is that man, not being his own creator, cannot understand all his qualities, potentialities, shortcomings, inner diseases and their cures, etc. The natural corollary is that he cannot, left to depend on his own sources of perception, know what is good for him and what is evil. Iqbal states:

آدمی اندر جہانِ خیر و شر
کم شناسد نفعِ خود را از ضرر
کس نداند زشت و خوبِ کار چیست
جادۂ ہموار و ناہموار چیست [7]

"Man in this universe of good and evil can hardly differentiate between his profit and loss.

No human being understands which of his deeds is ugly and which fine. Similarly, he does not really perceive what is the easy path and what the difficult."

God the Gracious, since the inception of man in the world, has been sending His Messengers for his guidance, to save him from individual attempt to devise the best code of behaviour for him. Man, without such divine grace could never have risen above the trial-and-error level. Even in countries where belief in God is these days an anathema, the notion of good and evil, truth and falsehood, integrity and infirmity of character had begun through some revealed guidance.

And to accept that revealed guidance and to act according to its injunctions is not difficult for man, once he is made conscious of his real significance. God's Law is the natural code of behaviour for man. It is just the observance of limits in all his deeds, aspirations, likes and dislikes. It is to enable man to evaluate himself so that he may evaluate others. It is to make him understand his own duties and rights as well as those of others. This consciousness gradually evolves into a state of naturalness. Man then begins to feel that to behave in the best manner possible is not a burden some direction imposed on him from outside; it rather oozes out of his own spirit. It is, in other words, hidden within him, waiting for the opportunity to come to the surface. When such conformity between the nature of man and the principles of nature takes place, it stands for a proof in respect of the individual concerned that he or she have become a true believer. Iqbal's illustration of this point is as follows:

> "A man becomes a Muslim only when the commandments and prohibitions of the Qur'an appear to him as his own desires. He would not then think that his endeavour to imbibe good morals, a taste for worship, aversion for ugly deeds and spiritual evils were a compliance of some strict authoritative orders of an unforgiving master. Instead, the proclivity to doing good and avoiding obnoxious deeds should rise from his own inner depths. The Qur'an should not appear to him as a medicine, though invigorating, yet bitter. It should rather become a tasty and enlivening food for him, so much so that there would remain no purpose. This is what فطرۃ اللہ التی فطر الناس علیہا connotes."[8]

The same meanings are conveyed by the following verses of Iqbal:

شرع برخیزد ز اعماقِ حیات
روشن از نورش ظلام کائنات

گر جہاں داند حرامش را حرام
تا قیامت پختہ ماند ایں نظام[9]

"*Shari'at* sprouts from the depths of life. Darkness gives way before its light and turns it into illumination.

If all the world of man were to accept prohibitions enjoined by it as prohibitions for all of them, the social structure built in its light would last for ever."

In the Qur'an, God has laid down very clearly that there can be no change in His "Way" (سنّة). Therefore, societies which learn to live strictly according to the *Shari'at,* i.e. the way of God, would not decay and die. This is because the essentials of all things remain the same. For example, all basic qualities of water as water have been the same from eternity and have to be the same till eternity. The sun rising from the East and going down in the West, changes of weathers and growth of things continue to take place now as ever. It is God Who knows after how many years and centuries He brings about what. Yet the essence of every created thing is true to itself. The balance set by the Creator cannot be disturbed. The strength of the universe lies in this eternal regulating principle, i.e. the balance. The Qur'an calls human beings to attention in the following words:

والسماء رفعها ووضع الميزان ان لا تطغوا فى الميزان

"And the firmament, He has raised high, and has set up the Balance (of justice) in order that ye may not transgress the balance."

Man is called upon to maintain balance within and without. For this own self he needs guidance so that he may observe self-discipline. As a member of society also he is directed to maintain and help others in maintaining discipline. Things that were conducive to the proper growth of an individual as a human being are the same. Similarly, what stands for collective good of man is still the same. The essence of human beings and the things around them can never undergo any change. Hence the commandments of God are all that is good for man and His prohibitions of all that is evil. The Qur'an has related the stories of ancient nations as to how they grew in strength and wealth and prosperity and then how and why they declined and became extinct. The values are by their very nature eternal. Man and societies, because of their short span of existence, cannot fully comprehend the sequence of God's prohibitions and commandments. Therefore they turn one category into the other. They sell good for evil. Sometimes they

do so knowingly and sometimes unknowingly. The catastrophic resul is the same. But God has made man capable of improvement if he so desires. Therefore His guidance has always been available to human societies through His Messengers. Whether man accepts divine guidance which is God's Grace in respect of man or he rejects it, depends on his own choice. The choice is his. And he is accountable to God for his choice. Man is equipped with the required faculty of will and capacity to do and to avoid. In this regard Iqbal states:

> "We cannot understand the full import of the great cosmic forces which work havoc, and at the same time sustain and amplify life. The teaching of the Quran, which believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour of man and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is meliorism, which recognizes a growing universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual victory over evil." [11]

This meliorism in respect of man's progress keeps the candle of guidance always aglow and for this very purpose the Qur'an states the legends of ancient societies stressing their behaviour towards God's commandments and prohibitions, why these societies prospered and how they met their doom and perished. As the principles or, you may say, the values are essentially the same, therefore the legends which throw light upon values are related again and again by God. The purpose is obvious, to warn as well as to give glad tidings. Live in this manner and you flourish. Live in that manner and you wither away. This sequence is explained by Iqbal in the lines that follow :

> "The Quranic method of complete or partial transformation of legends in order to besoul them with new ideas, and thus to adapt them to the advancing spirit of time, is an important point which has nearly always been overlooked both by Muslim and non-Muslim students of Islam. The object of the Quran in dealing with these legends is seldom historical; it nearly always aims at giving them a universal moral or philosophical import. And it achieves this object by omitting the names of persons and localities which tend to limit the meaning of a legend by giving it the colour of a specific historical event and also by deleting details, which appear to belong to a different order of feeling." [12]

REFERENCES

1. *Payam-i-Mashriq, pp. 127-28.*

2. *Reconsturction, p. 195.*

3. *Bal-i-Jibril, p. 56.*

4. *"Inculcate in you the habits of God."*

5. *G.N. Jalbani, Teachings of Shah Wali Ullah. (Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 2nd edn., 1973), pp. 86-87.*

6. *Reconstruction, p. 97.*

7. *Pas Che Bayad Kard. p. 30.*

8. *Malfuzat-i-Iqbal, p. 70.*

9. *Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-i-Sharq, p. 30.*

10. *Al-Qur'an, iv: 7-8.*

11. *Reconstruction, p. 81.*

12. *Ibid., p. 82.*

IQBAL ON MAN'S ACCOUNTABILITY

Do this and you succeed into progressing as a real man. Do that and you fail to become a human being. Your leading a life against the principles of Nature as codified by God keeps you earth-bound, one among millions and millions of other animals who categorically are different from you. Life of man, in truth, is the attempt of the soul to get the better of matter and eventually to dominate it. Whether man really attains that "soul-ful" life is yet to be seen. It is not only Iqbal who is anxious about the future of man. Whosoever peeped into his inner self and became conscious of man's status and his state of affairs felt distressed. This is what all the sages of all ages suffered. Western philosophers also, from the early Greeks to the present day, have been trying to lay down rules or make suggestions in respect of the betterment of man. And they also remained worried whether man would one day become a genuine man. Here is a book by Albert Schweitzer, one of the Unwin books (London) *Civilization of Ethics.* This is not the only book on morals, especially morals in the present-day society. There are thousands of them written in almost all advanced and semi-advanced countries. everywhere it smacks of pessimism although not all the thinkers admit they are pessimists. This book deals with almost all the the thinkers of some consequence pertaining to the field of human progress from Plato to his contemporaries, giving comparatively more space to German philosophers. I here quote a paragraph from the last page :

> "Feeling ourselves responsible to the civilized way of thinking we look beyond peoples and states to humanity as a whole. To anyone who has devoted himself to ethical world and life-affirmation, the future of men and of mankind is subject of anxiety and hope. To become free from this anxiety and hope is poverty; to be wholly surrendered to it is riches. Thus it is our consolation in a time of difficulty and, without knowing how much we may still experience of a better future, we are paving the way solely by our confidence in the power of the spirit, for a civilized mankind which is to come."

But how "mankind is to be civilized," there is no concrete suggestion in the whole of the book. What code of ethics is to be adopted and enforced, what values are to be upheld, imbibed and propagated? Nothing of such things. The writer is a philosopher and hence depends on reason, logic, perception, empiricism and other qualities possessed by man. He seems to be a sincere lover of man. But still the stem from which all branches of attitudes and behaviours sprout is not in the mind of the author. The stem is that man should know that he in the world of God

is His tenant. Whatever he does he should consciously know that he does for God. Victor Obenhaus, quoting Bible says :

> "None of us lives to himself and none of us dies to himself. If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord: so then whether we live or whether we die we are the Lord's."[1]

In the same tenor the Almighty Lord directs the last of the Prophets, Muhammad (S.A.W.), through the Qur'an to declare to mankind:

[2] قل انّ صلاتى ونسكى ومحياى ومماتى لله ربّ العلمين

> "Say : Truly my prayer and my service of sacrifice, my life and my death are all for God, the Cherisher of the Worlds."

As already alluded to in the foregoing pages, a man can be a real man only when he believes in the Oneness of God and obeys His commandments which for Iqbal mean the *Shari at* of Islam. Orders and directions are His Who is the Creator, He has demanded of man not to live as animals but as the best of all the creatures. God asks man to obey His Law and worship Him according to the manner laid down by the *Shari at,* i.e. the best code of discipline for man's spiritual education. Iqbal in this respect maintains :

> "Life in Islam is a series of splendid sacrifices. Look at prayer. You leave your bed for its sake early in the morning and sacrifice the charming nap of the hour. . . . . .Then from the afternoon prayer to that of 'Isha you sacrifice either your busy moments or leisure time. Then charity and alms as ordained by God are the test of the believer. Can he sacrifice, to please God, a part of his earnings and belongings for the help of the needy. This shows that your love for God is stronger than what you earn and possess. Then we come to fasting. By the grace of God there are several kinds of edibles at your disposal, but you cannot taste of them during the hours you are asked to abstain from them. In other words, you bear hunger and thirst for the sake of God. Look at the Pilgrimage (to Makkah). Here again the believer proves that for the sake of God, he can forbear the separation of his dearest ones and he can remain away from the surroundings he loves so much. Then we come to *jihad.* Here the believer's love for God is put to the most difficult test. Can one who sacrifices his comforts, parts with his wealth, keeps away from his fammily and home, suffers hunger and thirst, be ready for the sake of God to lay down his life also if called upon? Life is the most precious possession of a conscious human being. Can that also be given away and with pleasure? This, in my opinion, is the real Islamic

Sufism. By adhering to the *Shari at* a man attains slowly and gradually such spiritual evolution as inculcates in him the capacity of تبتل الی اللّٰہ the complete devotion to God."[3]

It is obvious that man means man in a society. Self-centredness is not the quality of a man; it is rather an animal trait. Man is spiritually moulded in a cast quite different from that of an animal. Self-centredness breeds callousness towards others and ends in the meanest form of selfishness. The height of man's progress is God-centredness and it is God-centredness which can defeat selfishness. But a man cannot rise above his animal "self" except in a society where he learns how to accommodate others, how to make sacrifice for others, how to be truthful to others, in short, how to live as a citizen who is an embodiment of good to others. Commensurate with the sense and service of sacrifice, one's earth-rootedness loses its grip. And it is not a very difficult matter for man to do so, as he is made for this job. What he lacks is self-consciousness. The structure of Nature is set in a manner which is conducive to the nourishment of individuals and societies. F.R. Tennant as a theist is fully convinced of Nature's benevolence in this respect. He says :

> "Nature, as already 'naturata,' is an essential condition of the world being a theatre of moral life. Without such regularity in physical phenomena, there could be no probability to guide us: no prediction: No prudence, no accumulation of ordered experience: no pursuit of premeditated ends: no formation of habit : no possibility of character or of culture. Our intellectual faculties could not have developed."[4]

All this is for Iqbal the "Habit of God". And a society should develop accroding to supreme principles of Nature which are the supreme values so that man in society should evolve and progress to realize his potent selfhood. That self-hood is certainly spiritual. In Iqbal's view:

> "The State according to Islam is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization."[5]

In a society there are some men who progress to a much higher level than others. They are persons who are highly balanced as compared to others. They are the real pupils in the School of Nature. And what is this balance? It is surely their conduct. It is their goodness. And what is goodness save man's deeds according to the dictates of his true nature. This needs conscious effort and means conscious sacrifice of the covetous demands of one's physical self. This again depends on the active **faculty**

of choice which man can exert. That choice pertains to values, to ideal ends. Peter Green explains:

> "If a piece of wax is exposed to a temperature lower than its melting point it will remain solid, if to a temperature higher than its melting point it will become fluid; the result is certain and there is no room for choice on the part of wax. But if, as we believe, a conscious being is acted on not by forces already acting upon him but by ideal ends, mental picture of future states, then the case is very different. For such ideal ends are infinite in number and a man seems to possess the pwer of choosing freely between them and selecting one to the exclusion of the rest (identifying himself, as a psychologist would say, with that particular end)." 6

No doubt, this power of choosing something or thing to the exclusion of others can be done only by those individuals who lead active lives. They live. They do not simply exist. To be alive means to be self-conscious. Surely he who is not self-conscious cannot be expected to learn how to discriminate between good and evil. He can have no such notion. Again to refer to Peter Green:

> "Hermits and members of communities of monks and nuns and indeed members of communities where solitude is much encouraged, have never produced works of any great intellectual or aesthetic value." 7

It is society that provides competition among its members for their individual and indirectly social advancement in all fields of activity. And the proverb goes: "God helps those who help themselves," which means the laws of Nature are always at the disposal of those who are alert and determined. Whether they are alert and determined for a good cause or bad, that is a different matter. The powers vested in the elements of Nature and the potentialities of man's being are impartial weapons. They can be used for good purposes as well as for bad ones. The choice is that of the individual who puts them to use. He is accountable for his choice to the law of the society he belongs to and to God. Therefore it is the responsibility of society to see that its members are brought up into good citizens. It is the primary duty of society to provide opportunities to individuals to realize their potentialities as much as possible, if not to the utmost. If a society comprises an overwhelming number of individuals who are alive in the spiritual sense, it means the society concerned is a living society. And those who are really alive are not going to die becuase the spiritually alive individuals are the persons who imbible "Habits of God". God would not give them death. Iqbal says:

تنِ بے روح سے بیزار ہے حق
خدائے زندہ زِندوں کا خدا ہے [8]

"God hates soul-less bodies,He is a living God and hence
He is God of those who are really alive "

And at another place he vehemently suggests that those who lead lives worthily cannot die, for their death would make God feel sorry over it.

چناں بزی کہ اگر مرگِ تست مرگِ دوام
خدا ز کردۂ خود شرمسار تر گردد [9]

"Live in a manner that if your death be an eternal death, the Almighty Lord would feel more repentant on what He did."

This verse shows that the death of a person who is really a "man" will make God feel sorry over it and it that is the eternal death then the sorrow would be much deeper. In the words of F.R. Tennant:

"For it would not be a perfectly reasonable world which produced free beings with Godward aspirations and illimitable ideals, only to cut them off in everlasting death, mocking their hopes and frustrating their purposes. Such spirits, even with their moral status, would after all be pawns, not children of God. Certainly a God who can be worshipped by moral beings must be a respecter of the persons whom He moulded into His own image. Hence theists generally regard the Supreme Being as a God, not of the dead, but of the living."[10]

Tennant has called men with Godward aspirations as children of God. C.A. Richardson calls them sons of God, and he believes that amongst the believers in God and the doers of Godly deeds there may be during a certain age a person who spiritually rises higher than all his contemporaries and hence can be nearest to God. Richardson illustrates as follows:

"In view of this high level of development Christ would share in the knowledge and power of God to a far greater extent than is the case with ordinary human beings. There is nothing, in this, incompatible with my theory, which does not require that a given monad should be associated as a 'dominant' monad with an organized group of 'subordinate' monads as body at any particular stage of development. Moreover as God is immanent in all monads, the metaphor of sons of God may be applied to all as Christ Himself pointed out. On the

> other hand as transcendant God is distinct from Christ as from all monads, the immanence of God in a very highly developed personality would result in an exceptional manifestation of His nature, through that personality and this is in accordance with Christian belief.'[11]

And this is in accordance with all monotheistic religions. All Prophets of God, in their time, were the dominant monads who manifested the immanence of God.

Such persons are the embodiments of the Kingship of God. E.Clinton Gardner's statement in this regard is very encouraging as well as convincing. He says:

> "God's Kingship is present in a special way in the lives of those who do His will. His rule is even now more fully manifest by the righteous man who obeys the law of God and thereby takes upon himself the yoke of the kingdom."[12]

The significance of man as such was stressed by Iqbal much before most of the authors quoted in this chapter. He, as a Muslim, believed in the institution of Prophethood. He, as a Muslim, believed that every Prophet in his own era took upon himself the yoke of God's Kingdom and he was the person who was nearest to God because in him were the attributes of God most manifest. And every Prophet tried to train persons who could transmit God's message to posterity. The Prophets educated human beings through God's message and their own practical examples. They set standards of conduct. They taught what was true, right, just, good, pure, etc., and hence beneficial for man's growth as well as progress. Likes and dislikes, as practised by Prophets and other men of God were, in other words, the values, i.e. the eternal standards. They were the eternal truths. No political, economic or diplomatic expedience could change them. Values in a way represented the laws of Nature and were the commandments of God. To uphold the values and to enforce them in the world of man and to mould all societies in one universal brotherhood of man is the need of today. Are the governments of the world really conscious that whatever they think and do for the good of their peoples is not always good for their upkeep, education and progress as human beings. Man as such is not the sole problem of any one country.

Problems, whether they are territorial, racial, colonial, agricultural, hegemonic, nuclear, international or interstellar, all are material. All these problems are, in fact, man's problems. But they are neither considered nor tackled as human problems. Their doubtful solutions also are not human.

As if man, for almost all the governments of the world, has lost all sequence. Then why bother about the horrible consequences of this apath? If man has no value in the eyes of man, then how can he understand the meaning of "values," i.e. the universal standards of right and good pertaining to every field of life? This is possible in societies where men are free to choose for themselves ways, means, goals and ideals for which they can be held responsible. A truth spoken in a police station under duress is not the moral act of the individual who speak, it out. Similarly if a slave or an humble servant speaks truth expecting favour or fearing displeasure of the master may be doing something which is good in broad meanings but that act cannot be considered â moral act, for that is not the free choice of the person concerned.

Yet every person cannot be allowed to have his own way. Every society has some standards of conduct to follow, to keep up general discipline. Morals are to be taught. The teaching centre is the home and then the educational institutions and all those who are "somebodies" for "someones". It is the direction and the warning of the Prophet of Islam (S.A.W.) that every one of you is responsible for his wards and subordinates. It conveys a broad meaning. It is not only the material welfare which is demanded, but also overall well-being of the wards and with all the meanings it can possibly convey. Every elder member of a family is responsible for the formation of the conduct of the younger ones: not only parents but elder brothers and sisters also. The elders should always be vigilant whether they say or do good and proper for kids to emulate and follow. A baby at the age of three months begins to imbibe impressions. If telling lies or stealing things, although of minor significance, or doing something silly, is a common practice at home and yet elders expect younger ones would not follow them. If they do, they are only being naíve. They, in their immediate sphere of influence, are enemies of the society to which they belong. Out of the family fold the most important and responsible persons are teachers rather than politicians and rulers. They are, generally, unaware of their moral duty to those who get and expect guidance from them. Morality, as a mode of character-building or as a training for moulding an individual into a man with overall good conduct, has lost practical reference. It is ąn academic question, always debatable and on occasions debated too. But there are difficulties for the teachers too. There was a time when a teacher felt his responsibility towards forming the conduct of his students because his voice was heared, his example was followed. But now the teacher is not the most improtant guide. All mass media is a coterie of teachers. Books, magazines, newspapers, radios, televisions, tape-recorders contain and preach much more and also contrary to what a duty-conscious teacher can teach.

Politicians who are in many countries the prospective rulers are not conscious of their role as builders of character. They have not to follow truth. They have not really to uphold or support justice. They have not to praise their political opponents if they happened to do something really positive They are always after some vote-catching device. They must invent some trilling and generally a misguiding stunt. In the past when mass media did not exist and generally a misguiding stunt. In the past when mass media did not exist the deeds of rulers remained hidden from the public at large. People had to deal with their immediate officers or religious guides who generally talked good of the "Kings". Therefore the rulers as demolishers of character were not very active agents. But now whatever they do and say is conveyed to the public and hence the contradictions of their words and deeds are always apparent. This contradaction is called intelligence. Intelligence lies in saying one thing and doing quite the opposite and then interpreting the former statement to conform to the contrary action.

This affects the moral outlook deplorably. One who is in office or holds a responsible post is deemed a capable adminsitrator if he can prove his falsehood as the bare truth..

We look at the United Nations, the most important and the biggest official international forum of the world. Here, we see gathered the brilliant personages of all the countries. They include politicians, physicians, psychologists, geologists, historians, scientists dealing with every field of scientific activity, sociologists, lawyers, experts in trade, commerce and industry, engineers and what not. We can say, the cream of the international expertise and know-how join hands and perhaps heads as well, on that forum. They might have done some amount of good work in the fields of health, food and might have promoted a few other niceties. Yet the question is, and it is a big question, what values have been upheld and popularised by this august international headquarter of the world elite Any fairminded observer of the accomplishments of the U.N. would feel that what they have taught as the best moral is the ruthless might.Truth has no meanings. Rights are abstract terms carrying no connotation. Justice is what a powerful country or block finds suitable to their unjust interests. Freedom means the capability of the stronger countries to expolit and subjugate the weaker ones, in any manner that serves their purpose. Intelligence and wisdom means the trait of proving good as bad and vice versa. Adeptness lies in misinformation, misguidance, hiding facts and siding with falsehood showing it as perfect truthfulness. This international forum of the world elite has taught nothing but dishonesty and has promoted nothing but despair about humanizing faculties of knowledge and experience. There are several departments and wings dealing with different problems of human beings under the auspices of the U.N. But

there is no such wing, or even a committee, meant for the promotion of human values for the reconstruction of humanity. Man is not wanted by the powers that be and their representatives. Man is the most meaningless entity in the eyes of those who have been perverted by earthward knowledge and who have not been trained in morals. How tragic of it all !

If man is still a valuable creation of God and not an automaton or a computer, greedy and lascivious, then rethinking is imperative. Man has to be saved from his own callousness. Man needs to return to God and to follow His commandments. Man cannot frame rules, regulations, constitutions and other such devices acceptable to whole humanity. Territorial, racial and colour prejudices alongwith narrow cultural bigotry must give way to broad human outlook to make all human beings feel as one brotherhood in the full sense of the word.

The Qur'an proclaims :

هوالّذی خلقکم من نّفسٍ وّاحدةٍ [13]

"He it is Who created you all from one breath of life."

This verse of the Qur'an stresses that the origin of all humanity is one and that is the breath of God. This makes all the human beings essentially equal. And Islam, which is the religion revealed by God through His Prophets and completed through the Last Prophet (S.A.W.), declares that nobody is higher than others in any material respect. The honour is the honour given by God. And the most honoured in the presence of God is he who fears God most and abstains from evil-doing most. Islam, in other words, revolutionised the so-called ephemeral and material standards which passed for values. Superiority in respect of race, colour, clan, wealth and rank is as good or as bad as trash. The essence of all humanity is one Divine Breath. Man's existence is essentially spiritual; therefore his progress and rise to heights is spiritual. This is the main lesson taught by Islam. Muslims throughout their history never established mosques reserved for Arabs or Turks as the ruling races, and others reserved for races ruled by them. No "South Africa" or "Colonial Rhodesia" could ever exist in the history of Islam. Religion made them equal. Religion ruled supreme. Races, territorial affinities, languages, even blood-relations were under religion's sway. Those who were lifetime servants and were called slaves were never treated as "slaves" in the Western terminology. The "slaves" of Muslims were the most trusted friends and defenders of the households they belonged to. They often became brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, Commanders-in-Chief, *Wazirs* and even successors to the throne of their masters. The history of Islam is replete with such examples. Can the freed slaves of America even now

in the area of "lightness," be allowed or accommodated in such relationships. All religions before Islam were limited to clans or nationalities. Hence they remained territorial and racial. It is Islam which is for the whole of humanity as is obvious from its practice through long fourteen centuries. Islam gave equal legal rights even to the followers of other religions. Social life, after family bonds, begins with the neighbour. According to Islam, a neighbour, to whatever religion or race or colour he belonged, was to be honoured, protected and helped in time of need. The Holy Prophet stressed the rights of the neighbour with such vehemence that his Companions thought that the neighbour was about to be included among the inheritors. If God is one, the human beings, howsoever innumerable, are like a single body. All their prejudices should end. All gods are to merge into One. All Messengers are to merge into the Messenger. All religions are to fructify in the exalted perfection of the last of all religions, i.e. Islam. In respect of the "necessity" of One God, I quote Julian Huxley :

> "The new framework of ideas on which any new dominant religion will be based is at once evolutionary and humanist. For evolutionary humanism, gods are creations of men, not vice versa. Gods begin as hypothesis serving to account for certain phenomena of outer nature and inner experience; they develop into more unified theories, which purport to explain the phenomena and make them comprehensible: and they end up being hypostasized as supernatural personal beings capable of influencing the phenomena accounted for by the god-hypothesis, is extended to cover the entire universe, and the gods become merged in God."[14]

No circle can have more than one centre. The universe, in ontological sense, is one circle. It also cannot have more than one centre. Without one God as the controlling centre there can be no harmony in the universe and similarly in man. Man cannot evolve into perfect unity without his belief in one God, because only according to the law and purpose of God can man shape his own behaviour and hence destiny. I feel constrained to quote William Temple who fully supports me on this subject. He says:

> "Life cannot be fully integrated about the self as centre: it can only be fully integrated when it becomes God-centred. For God is the real centre of the real world: His purpose is its controlling principle: only in Him, therefore, can all creatures find a centre which brings them all to harmony with one another and with themselves."[15]

That is all right. God is One. His purpose is the highest controlling principle. With several Western theists Iqbal is quite in agreement in this respect. But the difference arises when the practical shape of man's

harmony with others and with his own self becomes the focus of discussion. Is God's purpose tangibly explained in the best manner by any one human being? For Iqbal the reply is yes and he is fully convinced that the last Prophet of God, Muhammad (S.A.W.) is the tangible explanation that God's purpose can be served by following His laws and living according to His principles. God's men as Prophets in every age and, according to the Qur'an, in every nationality, preached His message and practised as they preached. In the person of Muhammad (S.A.W.) Prophecy attained perfection and perfection meant the end of the process. Prophecy kept evolving and, according to Iqbal, all Prophets were Muhammad (S.A.W.) in the making [16] And in a verse he explains this same idea thus:

شعلہ ہائے او صد ابراہیم سوخت
تا چراغِ یک محمدؐ بر فروخت۔[17]

"His flames burnt a hundred Abrahams till the candle of one Muhammad (S.A.W.) was lighted."

Quite obvious. For Iqbal there cannot be two Muhammads. If God is one and also His Law is one, then there cannot be different codes of moral behaviour for different nations. In Iqbal's words, perfection of Prophecy meant the end of prophetic process. Iqbal says :

"In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition."[18]

Given one perfect code now man can be left free to make his own choice, whether he accepts or rejcets what the Qur'an offered and what the Holy Prophet preached and practised. This, in Iqbal's opinion, was essential for the unification of all human beings. If God be the centre of the universe, then Muhammad (S.A.W.) is to be the cente of the world of man. It is inevitable. There cannot be more than one centre for the world of man too.

1. *Ethics for An Industrial Age (Harper and Row, New York, 1965), p. 263.*
2. *Al-Qur'an, vi: 161.*
3. *B.A. Dar, Ed., Anwar-i-Iqbal, pp. 278-79.*
4. *The Philosophy of Religion, p. 314.*
5. *Reconstruction, p. 155.*
6. *The Problems of Right Conduct (Longmans, Green and Co., London), p. 53.*
7. *Ibid., p. 175*
8. *Bal-i-Jibril, p. 90*
9. *Payam-i-Mashriq, p. 84.*
10. *The Philosophy of Religion, p. 318.*
11. *Hoppiness, Freedom and God, p. 202.*
12. *Biblical Faith—Social Ethics (Harper and Row, New York), p. 48.*
13. *Al-Qur'an, vii: 189.*
14. *Philosophy of Religion, pp. 359-60.*
15. *Ibid., p. 328.*
16. *Syed Nadhir Niyazi, 'Allamah Iqbal Ke Hudur, p. 61.*
17. *Asrar-i-Khudi, p. 13.*
18. *Reconstruction, p. 127.*

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IQBAL
ACADEMY
PAKISTAN